

Contributions to Nepalese Studies

journal of the
research centre for nepal and asian studies
tribhuvan university
kirtipur, nepal
cnas

vol. v. no. 2. june, 1978 (asadh, 2035)

vol. v. no. 2. june, 1978 (asadh, 2035)

Articles on Social Sciences and Humanities on Nepal are published in this Journal. Papers, review articles and short reviews of new books on Nepal are welcome from both Nepali and foreign contributors.

Articles should be original, written in either English or Nepali language.

They should be neatly typed in double-space leaving a margin of 1½" on either side of the page.

References cited and other notes should be given at the end of article and reference numbers in the text should be given in sequence.

References cited should be complete, with the full name of the author, full title of the work, publishers' name, place of publication and year of publication. In the case of articles, the full name of the journal or magazine referred to should also be given, as well the page numbers in which the article appears.

Editors reserve the right of refusing to publish papers submitted to it without giving reason.

Published articles are remunerated, but the CNAS retains the copyright to all articles submitted.

The opinions expressed in the articles or reviews are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the publisher or the editorial board.

Photographs and line drawings can be sent for illustration purposes. Photographs should be clear, glossy prints.

Contributors of articles will receive fifteen off-prints of their article. Additional copies can be prepared on request, on a cost per page basis.

All material for publication in the Journal should be addressed to: The Editor, Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Subscription rates can be revised at any time without prior notice. Subscription requests should be sent to the address given above for papers. Subscriptions are to be sent in the form of bank drafts or crossed - cheques in favour of the Research Centre, for Contributions to Nepalese Studies, to the Kirtipur Branch of the Nepal Bank Limited. Rates are as follows:

(For surface mail only)

	N. Rs.	Annual 25/-	Per copy 15/-
Nepal			
India, Sikkim, Bhutan,			
Bangladesh, Burma	I. Rs.	25/-	15/-
Other countries ... the equivalent of			
	US. \$	6/-	3/50

(Air mail rates will be sent on request)

contributions to nepalese studies

Editorial Board

Prof. Dor Bahadur Bista (Chief Editor)

Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma

Dr. Subhadra Subba

Dhanabajra Bajracharya

Dr. Ludwig Stiller S.J.



journal of the
research centre for nepal and asian studies
tribhuvan university
kirtipur, nepal
cnas

June 1978
500 Copies.

Malla

Cultu
Ferti

सिदि

Prel

Firs
Proj

The photo-strip of the Himalayan panorama on the cover
is a view from Kakani (courtesy, Raj Photo).

Printed by University Press

Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

contents

	<u>Page</u>
Mallakara in its Economic and Historical Perspective Devi Chandra Shrestha	1-6
Cultural Repercussions of Childlessness and Low Fertility in Nepal Linda Stone	7-36
सिक्किमका काजी युक्ला थुपको नेपालमा शरण धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेक वहादुर श्रेष्ठ	३७-५०
Preliminary Report on Langtang Region Andrew R. Hall	51-68
First Annual Progress Report on Nepal's Small Farmers' Project Mr. G.C. Clark, Miss M.M. Crowley and Dr. B.N. de los Reyes	69-86

mallakara in its economic and historical perspective

Devi Chandra Shrestha

Various types of taxes played their role in public finance in the ancient economy of Nepal. Taxes were levied on produce at the point of origin. There are numerous references to production taxes on a wide variety of commodities. Among these, the most frequent reference has been to the Mallakara.

In the Lichhavi inscriptions so far available, the oldest mention of the Mallakara is found in an inscription of Shiva Deva dated Samvat 647. In addition to this reference, there are five other inscriptions relating to the Mallakara. This relatively frequent mention of the Mallakara suggests that this tax was more general than other taxes of that period.

However, historians, whether Nepalese or foreign, have been far from unanimity regarding the meaning of Mallakara. For the most part, they have been content to hypothesize. Some of their hypotheses are fascinating, and a brief review of these seems a suitable introduction to the explanation of the term Mallakara offered in this paper.

Sylvain Levi, the French orientalist, was the first to suggest an interpretation of Mallakara. According to Levi, this tax was introduced in order to safeguard the Valley from the invasion of the Mallas of western Nepal. The tax was raised either to pay a tribute or to finance the defence of the Valley.¹ Later historians, it is apparent, somehow or other follow Levi. The historians in this group accept the Mallakara as a tax assessed for political rather than economic reasons. Balchandra Sharma, following the footnote given by Levi, compares the tax with the Turuska Danda in the history of Garhwal. He refers to the occasional incident of imposing a tax for the purpose of raising funds to appease a formidable enemy.² D.R. Regmi, at one place, states that the Mallakara was probably realised universally as a defence contribution.³ In another place the same author regards the Mallakara as a tax on commercial professions followed by the Mallas.⁴ Thus, Regmi maintains two different opinions regarding the Mallakara in two separate books: Ancient Nepal and Medieval Nepal. Dr. Hitnarayan Jha, on the other hand, considers the Mallakara as an occasional war tax. According to him the tax was imposed to raise funds either for conquering a new territory or for resisting a foreign invasion or for suppressing internal rebels (the local chiefs).⁵ The Italian orientalist Luciano Petech also asserts that the Malla tax (Mallakara) was imposed on the subjects either for defence or for tribute purposes.⁶ The propositions of all of these historians are based on the description of the victory of Mana Dev in the early part of his reign. The feudal chiefs of Mallapuri or the Mallas of the West had rebelled against him simply because they wanted to be free from central rule. King Mana Deva had to suppress those rebel chiefs of the West by his strong armed force. These historians seem determined to link this political incident of the early Lichhavi period with the later Lichhavi period. Not

only this, but even the rise of the Mallas in the medieval period of Nepali history is attributed to this event.

Another historian, however, D.R. Bhandari, has interpreted the Mallakara in quite the opposite way. In his opinion, until the period of Jisnu Gupta the Mallas were under the suzerainty of Lichhavi Nepal. They used to pay tribute to the Lichhavi rulers of the Centre--that is why the tax was also known as Mallakara.⁷

However, Dr. T.R. Baidya differs from this first group of historians who seek to link the Mallakara to the tribe of Mallas in West Nepal and assert that the tax was imposed for political reasons. He refers, as the basis for his assumption, to the inscription of Shiva Deva + Amshuvarma at Lele (S. 561). The inscription mentions a separate institution for wrestling or Mallayudha. The Mallayudha was one of the popular physical games for public entertainment in those days. In the inscription of Bhimarjun Deva + Jishnu Gupta at Thankot, which is quoted below, there is a tax for the ceremony of the bull-fight (Goyudha) in South (Dakshina) Koligrāma. The tax was levied on the people of the village of Thencho for financing the ceremony. Likewise, Dr. Baidya assumes the Mallakara to have been a tax on the villagers for the institution of wrestling, i.e. the Mallayudha Gosthi. His assumption regarding the meaning of Mallakara is based on one of the popular meanings of the term Malla: wrestler.⁸

Another addition to these hypotheses has been contributed by Mr. Dhanavajra Bajracharya, a renowned scholar on the history of the Lichhavi period. He has assumed the Mallakara or the Mallapotakara to have been a tax on the he-buffalo or calf. His assumption is based on the frequently pronounced term Male Me, meaning thereby a lowland or Tarai he-buffalo among the Newari speaking communities in Kathmandu Valley.⁹ But there is no sound proposition behind this. Two types of he-buffaloes are especially popular among the butchers' community in Kathmandu Valley: Tarai he-buffaloes and Hill buffaloes. The Tarai he-buffaloes, also called Madise he-buffaloes, are preferred to the others. According to common parlance in the derivation of Newari words, the original Madhya Desha changes into Madhesa or Madesa → Marhesa → Maresa and thus, lastly, the shorter form Marhe or Mare as an adjective derivation. In Newari, a buffalo is known as Me. When the adjective Marhe or Mare is put before this common noun, the compound word Marhe or Mare or Male + Me takes place in the common tongue. In the Newari pronunciation, Ra may easily be converted into La as its phonetic rule. Hence, the Newari phrase Male Me can in no way be connected with the ancient Sanskrit term Malla.

As stated above, the first inscription dealing with the Mallakara is a proclamation of King Shiva Deva, dated S. 647. Now situated on the bank of the river Vishnumati, northwest of Budhanilkantha, the proclamation was issued to the people of Thanturi Dranga. Accordingly, the inhabitants of this Dranga, an administrative division, should not pay more than one Kārshāpana (16 paṇas make one kārshāpana) as Mallakara. But the proclamation was not newly made. It had been issued long before King Shiva Deva. Only a renewal of the original proclamation was made during Shiva Deva's reign.

'Yadetatpūrvarājairasya draṅga ... upakarmma parituṣṭena mallakara
karaṇīyāṅkārshāpanādūrdhwaṁ nagrahitavyamiti prasādaḥ kṛita ...
prasādasya dridhikaraṇārthaṁ ... mayā shilāpaṭṭakena prasādaḥkṛita.'

(Dhnavajra--Lichhavi Kalaka Abhilekha, No. 54)

The later inscriptions which deal directly or indirectly with the Mallakara are listed thus:

1. Shiva Deva + Amshuvarma inscription at Dharmapur (S. 655), No. 67.
2. Amshuvarma inscription at Bungamati (S. 662), No. 71.
3. Amshuvarma inscription at Wotutole (---), No. 83.
4. Bheemarjuna Deva + Jishnugupta inscription at Yangal Hiti (---) No. 111.
5. Bheemarjuna Deva + Jishnugupta inscription at Thankot (S. 690), No. 115.

(N.B. The inscriptions are numbered according to Dhanavajra's enumeration).

Of these inscriptions, there are two inscriptions that are especially helpful for a proper introduction of the Mallakara: the inscriptions of Amshuvarma at Bungamati and Wotu Tole. The inscription of Wotu Tole gives the term Mallapotakara instead of Mallakara. The term Mallapota literally should refer to the son of a Malla. There is no doubt that the term Malla indicated some living thing of economic importance in society. Along with the Mallakara the inscription mentions another tax, the Sukarakara, which is definitely a tax on pigs. The inscription of Bheemarjun Deva + Jishnugupta at Yangalhiṭi also mentions, along with the Mallakara, some sort of arrangement (not a tax) for the Mallapotaka, the 'kids' of Mallas. With this, all hypotheses which have been advanced for the Mallakara from Sylvain Levi up to the present come to a virtual collapse. The Mallakara can in no way be compared with the Turaskadanda or defence tax. Neither can it be a tribute paid by the Mallas of the western feudal state, nor a donation for the institution of wrestling, the Mallayudhagosthi.

Now, what living thing is referred to by the term Malla? For this purpose, the inscription of Amshuvarma at Bungamati gives more information. There is a phrase in this inscription--Mallapotānām Matsyānām--where the qualifying term for the Mallapota (a 'kid' of the Malla) is Matsya, i.e. a fish. It deserves special mention that this proclamation of Amshuvarma is not directly related with the taxation system. It relates to the socio-economic system of that period. For a close scrutiny, an excerpt of the inscription is given here:

'Kukkuṭa sūkarānām mallapotānām matsyānānchāvāadhanena parituṣṭai-rasmābhīrbhātādīhikarāṇāpraveśhena vaḥ prasādaḥkṛita.'

(Ibid., No. 71)

The term Malla thus refers to a fish here. It may, however, be pertinent for historians who have not been concerned for etymology and be working with their limited knowledge of simple and common terminology to digress briefly. Ancient dictionaries clearly indicate that one species of fish was called Malla. Medinīkar, in his Nanartha Shabdakosha, gives a meaning as Matsya Bheda, a species of fish, among the various meanings of the term Malla. This dictionary is known by its shorter name Medinīkosha, and it is considered to date from the 12th century A.D.¹⁰ The various meanings of the term Malla given in this dictionary are as follows:

'Mallāḥ pātre kapole cha Matsya bhede valiyasī.'

(Lānta Varga, Stanza 44)

Another dictionary, Vachaspatyam, which is regarded as authentic for ancient Sanskrit terms, also follows the Medinīkosha and gives one meaning of the term Malla as a species of fish.¹¹ The same traditional meaning is found in the Shabdakalpādruma,¹² a scholarly Sanskrit dictionary. Thus, the reference in the inscription of Amshuvarma at Bungamati is clarified by authentic Sanskrit dictionaries for ancient terms. It can, therefore, be concluded that the term Mallakara is definitely a tax on fish or on the activities of fisheries.

The Bungamati inscription, an excerpt of which is given above, places those who practice the profession of Malla or Mallapota in the same social status as those who raise pigs and fowls. In order to grant a special privilege to the inhabitants of Bugayumi Grāma (the present Bungamati village) in the matter of their profession, their profession was freed from the jurisdiction of the Bhattādīhikarāna. The office of the Bhattādīhikarāna was responsible for the Varnavyavasthā, i.e. the professions according to the system of castes. This office supervised any profession prescribed socially for a particular caste or castes. Any deviation from the prescribed profession was said to be Dharmasankara, an ultra vires act. By granting the village of Bugayumi the privilege of placing it outside the jurisdiction of Bhattādīhikarāna, any dispute relating to the Dharmasankara in the village would be referred to the king's court.

In other words, the profession of raising fowls, pigs, and Malla (or fish) pertained to a low social status. Traditionally, all of these professions have been followed by the low castes of Newari society, even at the present time. Traditional fishermen of the Valley belong to the Pode caste. The shudra caste followed these professions in the Lichhavi period. On the other hand, the cowherdsman (Gopala) belonged to an upper caste ranking in Nepal. Again, there can be no basis for the argument that only he-buffaloes are taxable in the whole profession of breeding

buffaloes. The castes that constituted professional fishermen were also accustomed to breed fowls and pigs. Since Kathmandu Valley was full of dense forests, many small and big rivers, lakes and ponds, it was natural that fisheries thrived.

The main objective of the taxation system in the Licchavi period was to strengthen the public treasury. When taxes were imposed, therefore, greater emphasis was placed on the professions that generated greater income. A tax on the profession of fishing could therefore be justified on economic grounds. But one can ask why the tax was not termed the Matsyakara instead of Mallakara. This is supported by the fact that the term Matsya (fish) was used when imposing customs duty on traders selling fish in Stharu Dranga.¹³ Such a doubt may actually arise because the term Malla, used for a species of fish, has become obsolete. A study of the different species of fish, in their natural historical perspective and the Nepalese context, may reveal more facts on this subject. In Stharu Dranga, the case regarded customs duty, not a tax. The problem is not quite parallel.

Lastly, the Mallakara, i.e., the tax on the fishing profession, was reduced through a series of rebates. Previously the tax had been more than one karshāpāna (16 panas). This was gradually reduced to four panas. The objective of this tax concession was to encourage the profession of fishing. In the inscription of Bugayumi, the ruling sovereign Amshuvarma has expressed his satisfaction with the growth of the trade in Mallapota along with that of pigs and fowls. According to the inscriptions, the Mallakara has another synonym, the Mallapotakara. This term Mallapota refers to 'fish-culture' of the Malla species. This suggests the steady growth of the fishing business during the Licchavi period in Kathmandu Valley, and this in turn may well have resulted in an attractive source of production taxes for the public treasury over the long term.

Footnotes

1. Sylvain Levi, Le Nepal, Vol. II, p. 212, 1905 Paris.
2. बालचन्द्र शर्मा, 'नेपालको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा' पञ्चम खण्ड, सं. २०२२.
3. D.R. Regmi, Ancient Nepal, p. 186, Calcutta 1960 (The latest edition of the book (1969) also maintains the same opinion unchanged. See: Ancient Nepal, p. 247, (1969).
4. D.R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, p. 201, Calcutta, 1965.
5. Hitnarayan Jha, The Licchavis of Vaishali, p. 204-205, (Banaras/1970).
6. Luciano Petech, Medieval History of Nepal, p. 79, Rome 1958.
7. ढुण्डीराज मण्डारी, 'नेपालको ऐतिहासिक विवेचना' पृष्ठ ७७-७८, सं. २०१५.

8. T.R. Baidya, "The Significance of Mallakara", Journal of the Tribhuvan University, Vol. III, No. 2, 1967.
9. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, लिच्छवि कालका अभिलेख पृष्ठ २२३, सं.२०३०, नेपाल

र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, त्रि० वि० ।
10. Medini Kosha, Chaukhamba Sanskrit series Varanasi. Also see the editorial forward by Jagannath Shastri Hoshing. Third edition 2024.
11. वाव्ह युद्ध कारके नियोद्धरि । पात्रे । वलीयसी । मत्स्यभेदै । कपोले च
मेदि. (ईत्यादि) ।
वाचस्पत्यम्, छैठौं भाग

तारानाथ तर्क वाचस्पति भट्टाचार्य - तृतीय संस्करण, २०१६ (चौखम्बा
संस्कृत सिरिज) वाराणसी पृष्ठ ४७३६ ।
12. पात्रम् । कपोलम् । मत्स्य भेदः इति मेदिनी ।
शब्द कल्पद्रुम

राधाकान्त देव बहादुर तृतीय भाग, तृतीय संस्करण २०२४ चौखम्बा
संस्कृत सिरिज, वाराणसी पृष्ठ ६४६
13. Shiva Dev Inscription at Chapagaun (No. 55) Dhanavajra's -
Lichhavi Kalaka Abhilekh.



cultural repercussions of childlessness and low fertility in nepal*

Linda Stone

Among the high castes (Brahman and Chhetri) of Nepal, a healthy, growing family brings substantial social reward, while childlessness is punished. Yet childlessness is not only feared because it incurs negative social and cultural sanctions, but also because of the lack in Brahman-Chhetri society of viable, institutionalized alternatives to having one's own children. This combination in Nepal of negative consequences for the failure to produce children and ineffective alternatives open to the childless, provides us with a pertinent context in which to examine cultural repercussions of reproductive failure.

From studies of India, there has already been much discussion of the Hindu belief system in relation to the desire for many children, the concern with son survivorship, women's fear of barrenness and so forth (e.g. Opler, 1964; Mandelbaum, 1974). I will suggest, from the Nepalese example, that the cultural predicament of childlessness and low fertility is additionally related to certain features of social structure that are widespread in the Hindu world. These features will be illuminated by a brief comparison with societies in a markedly different cultural area - sub-Saharan Africa.

It should be borne in mind that the significance of childlessness in Nepal, as anywhere, depends on the individual's particular situation as that situation is defined in the society. Childlessness is not, like cholera, universally abhorred by all Nepalese in all circumstances. For one thing, its relevance is bound by the context of marriage; and married couples will only become seriously concerned with their childlessness after several years of conjugal living. Even here, the extent and the timing of their concern will vary according to other circumstances. For instance, the woman's failure to conceive at all will be far more alarming than her having an initial miscarriage or stillbirth.

At the same time, the threat of childlessness can never be totally circumvented by anyone. One's children may, after all, die at any point --a fact that becomes particularly relevant in areas like Nepal that have had a history of high infant mortality. Thus with the birth of her first child, a woman may escape the stigma of "barrenness," but she and her husband are quite aware that, unless they have several more children, they remain quite vulnerable to childlessness.

*The writing of this paper was supported by a contract between the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Center for Population Research (NIH-NO. 1-HD-62825), and the University of California, Berkeley, International Population and Urban Research, with Kingsley Davis as Principal Investigator.

A discussion of childlessness in the Hindu context amounts to a discussion of an extreme - a negative end-point in the spectrum of life's possibilities. It is clear that only a fraction of the Brahman-Chhetri population in Nepal ever face this extreme directly. Childlessness becomes important, however, not as a problem affecting great numbers but as a conceptual model of what a people are culturally induced to fear and avoid. By drawing out the extreme of childlessness, I hope to uncover what, amid the whole complex of social and religious values on children, is really at stake.

This study of childlessness is based on my fieldwork in a Brahman-Chhetri village of Central Nepal¹ and draws from Lynn Bennett's (1976, 1977) studies of woman's roles in a Brahman-Chhetri community in the Kathmandu Valley. Among both these groups, as among their Hindu counterparts in rural India, the high castes are organized into agnatic lineages; virilocal residence is the norm and the joint, extended family the ideal. And among all, bearing children, especially sons, is of paramount importance for similar economic, social, and religious reasons.

Women and Children: Gradations in the Stigma of Childlessness

The ways in which a Hindu woman's fertility profoundly affects her social and religious life have been well documented for India (e.g. Madan, 1965; 102; Mandelbaum, 1970; 87-88; Mayer, 1970; 220-221) and Bennett (1976, 1977) has confirmed that very similar principles of Hindu social organization and religious ideology are operative among Brahmans and Chhetris of Nepal. From these and other reports it is well known that a Hindu woman's status is directly dependent on her fertility and that the childless woman is subject to pity and contempt. Not only is she excluded from many social and ritual activities, she is also very likely to be accused of witchcraft. It is further probable that her husband will take another wife. Although men are also deeply concerned with having children, childless men are spared the ostracism and ritual exclusion that their wives suffer.

That the childless woman faces a perilous position is clear. But what have been less fully explored are the various local categories of childless or subfertile women and the additional light that these categories may throw on our understanding of Hindu values concerning fertility. Brahmans and Chhetris of Nepal actually distinguish several types, or degrees, of women who suffer fertility failure. The worst of these is aputri - a woman who has never conceived. The aputri is considered so unworthy that although she is allowed to do worship, the gods will not accept the food she has offered. Somewhat less inauspicious are the mrit balakh - a woman who has only stillbirths - and the srabad gharba - a woman who always miscarries. But like the aputri, these women will suffer mild ostracism. Part of this ostracism is explained as a means of avoiding the contagion of these women's condition. It is especially believed that repeated miscarriages might be caused by a specific disease called moc. Women are held to be born with moc, but it is

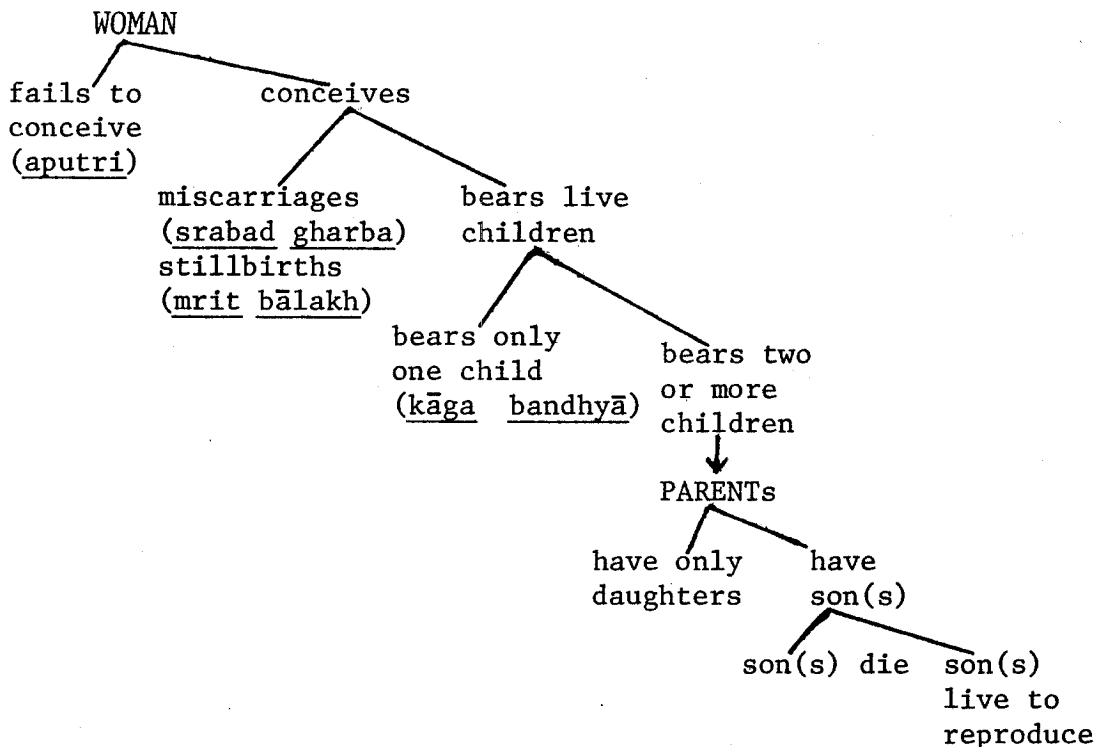
also thought that one woman can catch it from another. The disease is picked up by sitting where a moc woman has just sat, defecating where a moc woman has just defecated, or wearing the used clothing of a woman suffering moc.

In a village of Central Nepal, some of my informants further referred to the slight inauspicious aura that surrounds a woman who bears only one child (male or female) and is thereafter infertile. Such a woman is called a kāga bandhyā. The name "kāga" comes from a type of crow that, it is said, gives birth to only one baby crow in its lifetime, and for Hindus, the kāga crow, like the lowest of castes, is untouchable. To my knowledge, the older, one-child woman does not regularly suffer severe scorn or ostracism in Brahman-Chhetri communities. Nevertheless, in some contexts the mere presence of such a woman is considered unlucky. For instance, it is said that the orthodox should immediately bathe themselves for purification if they spot such a woman upon waking in the morning.

These categories of inauspicious women all underline the strong cultural stress on successful fertility. But there is a measure of difference between these general cultural categories and individual circumstances in real life. Naturally, all women dread being designated as, for example, aputri or kāga bandhyā; but a woman will not actually suffer such a designation until she is advanced in age and her hope for childbearing is gone (cf. Bennett, 1976: 17). Similarly, although the idea of the one-child woman is clearly inauspicious, if the child of such a woman is a son and if he survives to reproduce, the mother's misfortune becomes a great deal easier to bear.

Thus these categories of unlucky women cannot by themselves tell us how life will in every case be lived; rather, they are important because they tell us about the cultural values that orient social life in Brahman-Chhetri communities. It becomes clear that a major cultural component of "woman" is "as childbearer", and the association of "woman" with a lack of this capacity is something of an uncomfortable contradiction, an aberration. It is also significant that these negative terms for women point to the extremes of fertility failure. Although a woman who has daughters only or whose children all die in infancy, is considered most unfortunate, there are no negative terms for such women, nor a sense of their being dangerous. These women have at least proven themselves to be true to their name. Likewise, the women who miscarry or have stillbirths are less inauspicious than the aputri - the women who never conceive. They too have given initial proof that they are what they seem, though they suffer fault for their failure to produce living children. The unlucky nature of the kāga bandhyā - the woman who has, after all, born a child - is an exception that undoubtedly reflects the villagers fear that only by having many children can one rest assured that at least some will survive. Thus the single child, rather than being stressed as "at least a step in the right direction" becomes a symbol of the unsafe, a dangerous risk for the future. Opler (1964: 208) similarly reports the proverb "one eye is no eye and one son is no son" from village India.²

But most important, perhaps, these Brahman-Chhetri distinctions suggest a rather striking hierarchy of values concerning female fertility, which, for clarity, we may outline as follows:



For women, it is clear that positive valuation culminates in the successful birth of many children. Before the level of "bears two or more children" is reached, all of the oppositions draw out categories of inauspicious women. At every possible step in her fertility history, a woman risks negative valuation until, at last, she has successfully produced two or more children.

The next important feature in this hierarchy of reproductive capacity is whether or not the woman bears a son. It is at this point, too, that the consequences of childbirth become more equal for a woman and her husband. To be sure, a woman may well be blamed for a couple's failure to produce a son and the husband may in this case take another wife. But the woman does not suffer any ritual exclusions and her social acceptance in the larger community is not so perilous. It is also interesting to note that alongside the practice of blaming women for a failure to bear sons, there is another notion that places some responsibility for the sex of a child on men. Male informants in Central Nepal reported a popular belief that the sex of a child is determined by the relative amounts of male and female bij (seed; for men, semen) that combine to produce a child during intercourse. Only if the man is healthy and strong, I was told, can he contribute large quantities of semen and so increase the chances of his child being male.

With these considerations in mind, let us move to a discussion of the importance of sons and the consequences faced by sonless couples.

Parents and Sons

Brahmans and Chhetris of Nepal are organized into exogamous patrilineages, and, like many patrilineal groups, they express a strong preference for male children. It is sons who will continue the line, whereas daughters will be given in marriage to other lineages. Upon marriage, the bride takes the thar (clan)³ name of her husband's family, and her natal group yields all rights to her domestic labour and her progeny.

As residence is virilocal and the joint family the ideal, male children also assume a very practical value: they will remain as corporate members of a household estate, providing labour, possibly income from outside, and, eventually, brides who will further add to the labour supply as well as contribute progeny.

Ideally, sons will remain with their parents until the death of their father, at which time the household estate may be divided, an equal share to each son. As Nepalese Brahmans and Chhetris are largely settled in areas of intensive agriculture, the crucial item of family property is, of course, the land.

A set of brothers may elect to remain together even after their father dies, and this public display of fraternal solidarity is highly approved. But in practice this ideal of a large extended family is rarely achieved. Most brothers in fact separate as soon as possible, either when their father dies or even before. But either way, by the system of property rights and inheritance, a man with sons can virtually guarantee their support and assistance for the duration of his life. Aside from the strong cultural stress on filial duty and respect for senior agnates, a man has a very real hold on his male progeny. Although he cannot deny them their right to inherit, the father will have clear authority over the use and distribution of all family resources for as long as the estate remains undivided.

Even should sons separate from their father before his death, the customary process of separation in this case further reflects the joining of filial duty with economic links. Here, an elderly man may feel that he is no longer able to head a large estate. His sons may be grown, themselves with children, and eager to separate; or they may be quarrelling. The father may then agree to divide his estate before his death. If so, he does not relinquish all his land, but reserves a portion, called jiuni, for himself. This portion is divided among his inheritors after his death, but in life, the jiuni remains as a source of support for an old man and as a wedge of power. At least one son (often the youngest) must work the jiuni land in order to help care for the father in old age, as well as enjoy support from the land himself. Although customarily the father cannot sell or otherwise alienate this land from his sons,

he can rent it out. In this case negligent sons may be deprived of profits from the jiuni land that the father then shares, independently, with his renter.

These links with male progeny are also important to women since the economic power that a man has over his sons is transferred to his widow upon his death. The widow holds the land in trust for the sons of her husband. If the sons are grown and wish to separate, they may do so, but a jiuni must be reserved for their mother.

These rules of inheritance, and their implications for social relationships, become crucial for men and women in their old age. Brahman-Chhetri informants repeatedly stressed to me that having sons was important to guarantee that someone look after them when they are no longer able to do so themselves. As we shall see, there are ways in which a couple without male children may place other kin into the "son" category, but in all of these alternatives, the economic aspects of the relationship are an explicit and integral part.

This important place that sons assume is, not surprisingly, reinforced by religious values and prescriptions. For instance, each patrilineage needs new male members to carry on worship of the lineage gods, the kul-devatā (Bennett, 1976, 7; see also Bista, 1971). But most important for all individuals, it is the religious duty of a son to perform particular death ceremonies for his mother and father. Aside from the son's crucial role in the initial 13-day funeral events (kriyā basne), he must also observe a number of austerities (e.g. shaving his head and wearing white clothing) for one year following the death of a parent. In addition, the son must perform the annual srāddha - a commemorative ceremony in which the deceased is ritually fed - for his parents and for his patrilineal ancestors up to three generations.

It is firmly believed that any failure or negligence in the performance of these ceremonies places the departed soul in utmost peril. The connection between these rituals and the welfare of the dead is not merely an interesting local belief about the afterlife but is an important cultural notion that carries great force. This is perhaps best seen by looking at the symbols through which ideas about death are woven into some major premises of Brahman-Chhetri culture as a whole. Foremost here is the concern with food. The departed are hungry and are directly dependent on their survivors for their srāddha food. As such they continue in death what is everywhere evident in Brahman-Chhetri life: human beings are interdependent and this interdependency is symbolically expressed through the perpetual giving and receiving of food. Within this general use of food as a symbolic affirmation of human interdependency, particular food transfers carry specific meanings in a variety of contexts. Food transfers may be used to mark caste statuses and intercaste obligations, to fulfill the duty of a subordinate to sustain or honour a superior (e.g. the wife's duty to feed her husband, mankind's duty to honour the gods with food) and to signify love (e.g. in the customary giving of

"sweets" to express affection). Brahmins and Chhetris place much emphasis on the desirability of "fatness," for the plump person is one who is cared for (Bennett, 1976: 41), one who occupies an integral (food-receiving) position in the human community. Thinness is associated with detachment and severance from others.

These ideas carry a vivid extension into death: a person whose kriyā and śrāddha are not performed (a soul that is unfed) becomes a "ghost" (bhūt, pret, etc.). These ghostly beings are said to wander in painful hunger and inflict harm on the living in order to wrangle food offerings from them. In life and in death, the unfed hover on the fringes of organized society and are a source of danger.

Sons, then, are sustained in life by parents; and in death they will return the favour by ritually feeding, and so sustaining, their parents. If a couple has no son, they will express anxiety over who will make them a proper ancestor instead of a miserable ghost, and who will feed them when they are helpless in the abode of the dead. But these concerns with the afterlife bear out a larger and more "worldly" point: the having of sons is connected to the idea of being acknowledged as a full member of human society, as one who contributes to rather than cuts off the ordered and ongoing linking of human beings together. In terms of the cultural symbolism, those who fail to contribute to the orderly transmission of "duty to feed" are fittingly punished with hunger.

Reproductive efforts are, then, set within a strong hope for male children, and the failure to produce daughters is, understandably, not met with grave concern. Nevertheless, the bearing of daughters is neither a neutral matter nor a perpetual disappointment. It is far better to have daughters than no children at all. This establishes a couple as fertile and, as we shall see, the daughter may become the key to acquiring a surrogate son. Furthermore, a daughter can bring a couple great religious merit (punya) when she becomes their "gift of the virgin" (kanyādān) to a groom.

Alternatives and Options

Married couples without children or sons may adopt strategies to alleviate their misfortune. Once a couple has decided there is reason for concern (and the timing of this may vary according to whether the woman is failing to conceive, having miscarriage, repeated births of daughters, etc.), they may resort to institutions that help the man have children (polygyny) or that will provide the couple with a surrogate son (child adoption and the uxori-local son-in-law). It is important to note that all these institutionalized alternatives for acquiring children primarily improve the condition of the childless male. Although a woman who fails to have children may enjoy the social and ritual benefits of a co-wife's son or a surrogate son, there is nothing which can relieve the stigma of her own fertility failure.

Polygyny

Secondary Wives by Orthodox Marriage

Orthodox marriages (those performed with Vedic rites by a Brahman priest) can be arranged only between members of the same caste or in a sanctioned hypergamous direction (Chhetris, for example, can marry their women upward to Brahmins). Orthodox marriages, called bihāite, are repeatedly emphasized as a means of insuring caste purity; and high caste Nepalese stress (in word if not always indeed) the strength, importance, and permanence of the marriage tie.

Although nowadays it is officially legal to secure a "court divorce", most village Nepalese do not resort to national law in order to end a state of conjugal living. Instead they simply separate. In this case, the rights and duties of their marriage tie are technically still in force, unless the woman elopes with another man. Such an act would constitute adultery on the part of the wife and would automatically sever her rights to maintenance in her husband's house and affiliation with his lineage. But although a wife's act of elopement will dissolve her marriage, there is one very significant sense in which a notion of finally, or permanency, attaches to marriage: Hindu males are permitted to take any number of legitimate wives, but women may only enter one sanctioned marriage in their lifetime. Women may elope, but they may not remarry, even should their husband die.

Despite the practice of separation and elopement, the cultural ideal is a monogamous bond that endures forever. Thus men may take additional wives, but polygyny is socially approved only if it is arranged on account of a deficiency in the first wife's fertility (Bennett, 1976: 5). This pattern of preferential monogamy with allowance for polygyny in the event of deficient fertility reflects a widespread Hindu practice (Tambiah, 1973: 65).

In Hindu Nepal, orthodox bihāite marriage appears designed to solidify and strengthen the bond between male and female pairs. Marriages are arranged early, monogamy is encouraged, divorce is difficult, and in any case women cannot remarry. It is within this context of orthodox marriage that children become so important, and yet those same rules that guarantee strength to the marriage bond also place limits on the ability of some individuals to acquire children. In bihāite marriage, all goes well enough if the woman successfully bears children. But if she does not, the institution of bihāite serves to compound the problem. The woman cannot, on account of childlessness, legitimately leave her husband to try her luck elsewhere; and the man cannot relinquish his duty to provide for his childless wife. The husband's arrangement of a second, orthodox union is not an easy social or financial matter; and the new woman he brings to his household must adapt to the position of co-wife. In the Brahman-Chhetri use of bihāite marriage we may perceive a conflict between the cultural concern with abundant fertility on the one hand, and the issues of caste purity and strict control of female sexuality on the other.

Secondary Wives by Elopement

Another possibility - and one in which Nepal shows more flexibility than Hindu India - is for the man to arrange a second union by elopement (lyāite). Although childlessness is not the only motive for elopement, lyāite unions can be and often are undertaken as a means of acquiring children after a first union has remained childless. Furthermore lyāite is an option open to both men and women. A woman who is still young and attractive can perhaps cement a lyāite union even though she is so far without offspring.

Lyāite unions, in contrast to the orthodox bihāite marriage, are not sanctioned by Vedic ritual or arranged by kin groups. The man and woman merely take up conjugal living and assume the social positions of husband and wife to one another. Significantly, lyāite unions may violate the boundaries of caste endogamy that bihāite marriage insures. As Brahman and Chhetri men and women are, at least in rural areas, formally married in childhood by their parents, elopements among them are most often secondary unions for both men and women.

Although lyāite unions are, to varying degrees, disapproved among high caste Nepalese, it is well recognized that these unions are both more common and meet with less disapproval than is the case in India (see Furer-Haimendorf, 1960: 30 and Dumont, 1964: 98). Significantly, although the children of intercaste elopement unions are generally excluded from their father's caste, Nepal illustrates that a caste system can nevertheless be maintained in force without strict adherence to caste endogamy (cf. Lionel Caplan, 1973: 41).

There are two important features of the Nepalese caste system which promote this greater toleration for elopement and which distinguish the Nepalese lyāite from mere concubinage. First, the Nepalese system allows for caste and kinship to intersect. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in much of India (see Leach, 1971: 7-8) where the progeny of unsanctioned unions are excluded from affiliation with the father's kin groups. But in Nepal, the son of an elopement union will belong to his father's clan and lineage (even if he doesn't share his caste) and will in this way continue the "name" and the line of the father.⁴

Secondly, heirship is not strongly undermined by the distinction between proper marriage and elopement. In his early work, Furer-Haimendorf mentioned that among the Chhetri, children of a lyāite wife could only claim "1/6 of the share (of their father's estate) to which the son of a fully privileged Chhetri wife is entitled" (1966: 52). But under a more recent Nepalese law, children of lyāite unions may claim an inheritance equal to that of sons of bihāite marriage; and this practice clearly obtains in several areas today (see Lionel Caplan, 1973: 54; Furer-Haimendorf, 1971: 23).

As we shall see, a son by elopement has a much more certain claim to his father's property than do surrogate sons arranged by other means. In addition, as a rightful inheritor, a son of an elopement union is fully qualified to play the social and economic roles of a son: he will be duty bound to care for his parents in their old age, and he may well be a source of pride and fulfillment to them.

Among Brahmans and Chhetris in Nepal, there is variation in the extent of elopement and in the attitudes toward it. In the Nepalese village where I worked, 15% of the marital unions were arranged by elopement. Gabriel Campbell describes the situation in Jumla (northwest Nepal) where Brahmans and Chhetris have expanded the elopement option even further. Here he reports that not only is lyāite practiced, at one time or another, by over half the population (1977: 173) but also that informants explicitly approve widow elopement:

The strength of the values supporting elopement in the face of dharmic (Hindu religious) conflicts was also demonstrated by a conversation I was present for during which the customs of India and the Terai (far South Nepal) were discussed. When the strictness surrounding the rule against widow remarriage was mentioned, all the men laughed and several commented that the men there must be very stupid if they do not make use of a young widow's capacity for still bearing children (1977: 176).

Although my informants in Central Nepal were well aware of the frequency of widow elopement among them, they did not grant it the explicit sanction that we find in Jumla. But the information from Jumla shows us that not all Nepalese high castes maintain the orthodox Hindu stance on widow elopement, and Jumla well illustrates how far Nepalese Brahmans and Chhetris may deviate from the orthodox Indian model.

Along with the very real flexibility of the Nepalese system, the sacrifice of caste purity still remains an important cost of elopement unions in Brahman-Chhetri society. And it is this that my informants stressed as the reason why elopement unions are somewhat "bad". Unless he elopes with an untouchable, a high caste man does not himself suffer any loss in caste status. However, women who elope suffer a drop in caste purity as a rule, and the Brahman male cannot pass on his full caste status to his children of an elopement union. Thus, for instance, if a Brahman male elopes with a Brahman woman, she and her children become members of the distinctive Jaisi caste (a caste formed from unsanctioned unions among Brahmans). And if a Brahman male elopes with a woman of the matwāli castes ("liquor-drinking" castes that are touchable but do not wear the sacred thread), the children assume their mother's caste.

These rules of status designation have a very important consequence: a son of a significantly lower⁵ caste status than his father cannot perform his death ceremonies, the kriyā and srāddha (Bennett, 1977). If, for instance, a Brahman man elopes with a matwāli woman, her sons cannot perform his death rituals. But if the man elopes with a woman of his own caste or a caste which wears the sacred thread, it is likely that the sons will be considered pure enough to perform the rituals. Lynn Bennett (1977, personal communication) reports of a Chhetri informant who performs that annual srāddha for his Brahman father. But here there is a significant restriction: the ceremonial "rice ball" (pinda) with which the son feeds his father's spirit in srāddha, must in this case be made of barley (a ritually neutral food) rather than of rice (the ordinary srāddha food).

However individuals weigh their options for adding wives by elopement or proper marriage, there is some evidence that secondary wives are more commonly acquired through elopement. In one village of Central Nepal, among 224 men surveyed, 14 were supporting two wives, either together or in separate houses (no man supported more than two). But the second wives were properly married to the husband in only 2 cases. It is also significant that in this same village, 92.4% of all elopement unions were intracaste, suggesting that even when marriage rules are violated, there may be a concern with minimizing the difference in caste status between one's self, one's lyāite wife, and one's children by elopement.

Systems for Surrogate Sons

Brothers and Sons: The Root of the Problem

Informants imply that without real sons, there is cause for anxiety over who shall provide for one's spiritual and material continuity. However, by the rules, there are in fact a host of other kin who will assume the related functions of inheriting land, caring for the aged benefactor and later performing death ceremonies. If a man dies without sons, customary law provides an ordered scheme of who stands to inherit his property. And the inheritor is automatically responsible for the death rituals.⁶ My informants gave the following order of inheritance:⁷

wife (in trust for son)

son

son's son

son's son's son

daughter (with permission of the deceased's brothers and with management authority vested in her husband)

brothers

brother's sons

If none of these kin are living, the property goes to the next closest agnate--e.g. FB, FBS, FFBSS, etc. In other words, there is always an heir, except in the extreme case where a man dies literally without kin.

Why, then, do individual men and women consistently express their concern to have a son in these terms? Why is there such emphasis on the necessity to "grow your own" when in all likelihood there will be several kin who will willingly perform those acts for which parents say they need a son? Obviously, real sons are seen as somehow "better" as inheritors and ritual caretakers. Bennett reports that the performance of kriya by someone other than a son "is disturbing to villagers, almost as if the rituals lose some of their efficacy when they are not performed by a son" and that "the further away the chief mourner gets from the category of son, the greater the sense of disorder and anxiety about the spiritual future of the deceased" (1977: 236).

But these sentiments, and the discrepancy between the felt need for a real son on the one hand and the rules that insure heirship on the other, may rest on another aspect of Brahman-Chhetri social organization: the tension between collateral kinsmen. This tension is rooted in the relationship between kinship structure and the distribution of economic resources. This, coupled with sufficient leverage for political maneuvering in the inheritance process, accounts, I believe, for the villagers' anxiety over having their own sons and for the failings of institutions that provide surrogate sons.

The tension between collateral kin is focused in the brother-brother relationship. Conflicts between brothers mark one of the major social cleavages in Brahman-Chhetri society, though these conflicts tend to be hidden behind public gestures of agnatic solidarity. The problem of brothers in the Hindu family has been noted before (see Madan, 1965: 164-181 and Mandelbaum, 1970: 64, on India, and for Nepal see Doherty, 194: 37).

Those agnates who occupy father, son and brother relationships to one another form the core of joint family households. They are, then, a corporate group and they are in competition for the same limited resources. Authority over the use of these resources follows an agnatic hierarchy (based on genealogical distance and, within one generation, on relative age), with ultimate authority vested in the senior functioning male. Since brothers occupy very similar positions within the hierarchy, they are in the most direct competition for limited resources. Further, because brothers may separate their households and partition their father's estate, they carry the potential to become structural equals. Although a younger brother must defer to his elder brother at home, he knows that someday he may become a household head himself, an independent unit of equal status.

Even after brothers have separated their houses and property, ill-feeling and mutual jealousies may persist. In addition, as their independent family units stand in the same positions of marriageability to other wife-giving families, these brothers may be competing for wives for their separate sons. I found in Central Nepal that witchcraft accusations were most frequently aimed at the women of one's family head's brother's household. And often the accusers claimed that "they (the brother's house) wanted our daughter-in-law to be given to them instead."

From this description of brother relationships, it is easy to see how tensions mount when a man has no children: his brothers and after them, their issue, stand to inherit his land. If tensions are particularly ripe, the childless man may also feel uneasy about his collaterals performing his death rituals. He may be mistrustful of their dedication to perform the rituals properly and to insure that their descendants keep up the practice over the generations. But most of all, he may fear that his collateral agnates will be particularly negligent in carrying out the important duty of an heir--looking after their benefactor in his old age. Illustrations of brothers and brother's sons providing for a childless man in a half-hearted way are frequent enough to stand as a warning to all. At least with their own son, a couple will have a chance to imbue in him a sense of filial obligation.

A crucial factor here is, of course, the inheritance rules that allow property to revert to collaterals when a man dies without children. But we should note that a daughter (albeit "with the brothers' permission", see above) has a higher claim than collaterals. It is this factor--female inheritance--that Tambiah stresses as crucial in the development of traditional Hindu law, and which he calls the "rule of lineal before collateral heir" (1973: 79, italics his). Tambiah directly relates this development to the growth of institutionalized "son substitutes" in Hindu India, a development he contrasts with the situation in West Africa:

My thesis is that in India the frequent separation of and partition between siblings displaced the emphasis, when a co-parcener had no male issue, away from survivorship and reversion (i.e. from inheritance by collaterals) and on to inheritance by lineal descendants, even by females directly or indirectly. It is this tendency which culminates in the institutions of the appointed daughter, the uxorilocal son-in-law and adoption, which guard against property developing on collaterals in preference to lineals. Thus we may say that where India in fact emphasizes the lineal before the collateral heir, and stresses partition, adoption, inheritance through the appointed daughter or daughter's son etc., West Africa...emphasizes the rules of male survivorship and reversion to male collaterals, women being rigorously excluded as heirs (1973: 78).

Similarly Goody (1969) has discussed the Eurasian (as opposed to the African) reliance on adoption in connection with the Eurasian emphasis on direct, lineal transmission of property. He further claims that this system of inheritance is related to the necessity in Eurasia to transmit the crucial resource--land-within narrow limits.

What Tambiah and Goody may have overlooked, however, is the residue of "collateral pull" in these systems which renders adoption and similar institutions less than satisfactory in real life. Similarly, in ethnographic accounts from Hindu Asia, the rules for adoption and the uxori-local son-in-law are often simply outlined with an unanalyzed implication that such institutions are perfectly efficacious. Thus, for India, Mandelbaum makes the general statement:

Whatever means are used to assure the inflow of males, the family members do not usually have to ponder difficult choices or manipulate touchy social considerations. They have only to celebrate a birth with proper ritual or, being convinced that a birth is not forthcoming, to secure a suitable alternative with main dispatch and little fuss (1970: 97).

This statement could not be farther from the truth for many Brahmans and Chhetris of Nepal. And for India, there is some evidence of social tension (Berreman, 1972: 163) or outright conflict (Lewis, 1958: 135, Mayer, 1960: 238) surrounding adoption cases. In these cases, as in Nepal, the conflict stems from the same source: the tension between collateral kinsmen.

The inadequacy of institutionalized son substitutes is important to a consideration of childlessness and, indeed, to an understanding of the extremely high stress on bearing one's own children found throughout Hindu Asia. We will move, then, to a discussion of these institutions--adoption and the uxori-local son-in-law--in Brahman-Chhetri society.

Adoption

Nepal shows a close similarity to other areas of Hindu Asia in the form that adoption takes. The preferred adopted heir is a close agnatic kinsman, especially the brother's son (see Goody, 1969: 64). The procedure is informal, and adoption validity rests on the agreement and good-will between the adopter and the child's natural parents. It need not be accompanied by a special ceremony (cf. in India, Madan, 1965: 84; Berreman, 1972: 163). The adopted son assumes full membership in his adopter's kinship groups, becomes an inheritor, and severs ties of kinship and property with his natural parents.⁸ Preferably the child is very young, and his adopter should himself arrange the child's bartaman (initiation) as well as his wedding (Bennett, 1977, personal communication). The adopted son (so long as he is of proper caste status) is fully qualified to perform the death ceremonies for his adoptive parents. Female children are sometimes fostered but are not adopted.

The main problem with adoption concerns, as we have anticipated, the issue of inheritance and kinship relations. We have noted the brother's son, or other close agnate, as the preferential adopted heir. This preference is reflected in the Legal Code (Muluki Ain) of Nepal which in fact gives an elaborate "order of preference" for adoption:

Children of full brothers

Children of half-brothers

Descendants of the same grandfather

Children of daughters

Descendants of the same great-grandfather

Children of sisters

Children of relatives of the same clan

(Nepal Press Digest, 1973: 1)

The Legal Code goes on to make clear that this order of preference must be followed: "Adoption which is made in violation of this order of preference or without fulfilling necessary formalities shall not be regarded as valid" (Nepal Press Digest, 1973: 1). The code is clearly designed to prevent property from straying far outside the patriline. It gives close collateral agnates preference over daughters' sons, sisters' sons and distant agnates. But what this also means is that if close agnates are available, a sonless man cannot easily arrange to transmit his property to anyone else.⁹

One consequence of this system (and one which shows a marked contrast with European society) is that the institution of adoption is not coordinated with the problem of homeless children (cf. Goody, 1969: 58, on Africa). Traditionally in South Asia, one did not look to orphans as a means of solving their childlessness (although nowadays in Nepal and elsewhere it is legally possible to adopt orphans under certain circumstances). This exclusion of orphans has in fact an early basis in ancient Hindu Law. Tambiah (1973: 83) reports that in India a child could only be given in adoption by his living, natural parents, and that an orphan obviously could not be adopted because there was no one with authority to give him away.

In Nepal, and likely in India as well, there is yet another reason why orphans are unlikely candidates for adoption (unless of course, the orphan is a close agnate). The orphan is not merely a parentless child; he is also a property holder. He will have inherited from his deceased parents though someone else will manage the land for him until he matures. Should he die before himself reproducing, this property will go to his collateral agnates. The orphan's kinsmen, then, are unlikely to release

this child for adoption by an outsider because in so doing they would give up their claim to his land (Gabriel Campbell, 1977 personal communication).

On top of all these restrictions on adoption, there is yet another, and one which directly reveals the Brahman-Chhetri emphasis on sons as a crucial possession. By both customary law and the Nepalese Legal Code (Section 12; Nepal Press Digest, 1973: 3) one is not permitted to adopt an only son. Even though it is unlikely that a single-son parent would release the son for adoption, the law steps in to guarantee that parents of a single son cannot lose their child through any ill-advised decisions on their part or through any cunning manipulations of others. By the same token, only-son orphans cannot be given away in adoption by their guardians, and thus the spiritual and material continuity of the deceased parents of an only son is likewise protected by the law.

With these considerations in mind, it is clear that by all the rules, the brother's son (or, if unavailable, another close agnate) is the most satisfactory child to adopt. This choice can assure caste compatibility and meets with the least legal resistance. But it is precisely here, within the agnatic kinship realm, that the potential for conflict over adoption emerges: the brother's son may in fact be the least desirable choice for a sonless man in view of his relationship with his brothers. Successful adoption depends on peaceable and cooperative relations between the parties; and, as has been discussed, this is often not the case with brothers. The sonless man may then attempt to maneuver his property away from his brothers and their issue. But, needless to say, his efforts are not likely to go uncontested. Even if no brother's sons are available, the sonless man's collateral agnates will do what they can to obstruct the passage of property outside their own line.

Watson (1975) has very well demonstrated the conflict between adoption rules and the interests of sonless individuals in Chinese lineages in Hong Kong, and I think a somewhat similar case of conflict can be made for Nepal. Here, a sonless man is often caught between a set of norms that are geared toward the continuity of property in a close collateral fashion and his own desire to separate and transmit property elsewhere.

One case from Central Nepal illustrates this conflict, and gives us as well an insight into the broader social dynamics of childlessness. A Brahman man, Krishna, and his wife, Devi, are now in their sixties and are childless. In her first years of marital relations with Krishna, Devi had a miscarriage and a stillbirth. For the next three years, she failed to become pregnant. Her husband and his senior agnates grew concerned and arranged for another wife for Krishna from Devi's natal kin (Devi's mother's co-wife's daughter--i.e. a half-sister to Devi). This girl was a child at her marriage to Krishna; and three years later, before she had moved to Krishna's home, she died. Her death, Krishna said, marked the saddest period of his life. His second hope for children was gone and he

despaired that he was doomed to childlessness. He also claimed that neither he nor his family was eager to arrange yet another wedding for him. Nor did he consider elopement, an act that he designated as "shameful" among Brahmans.

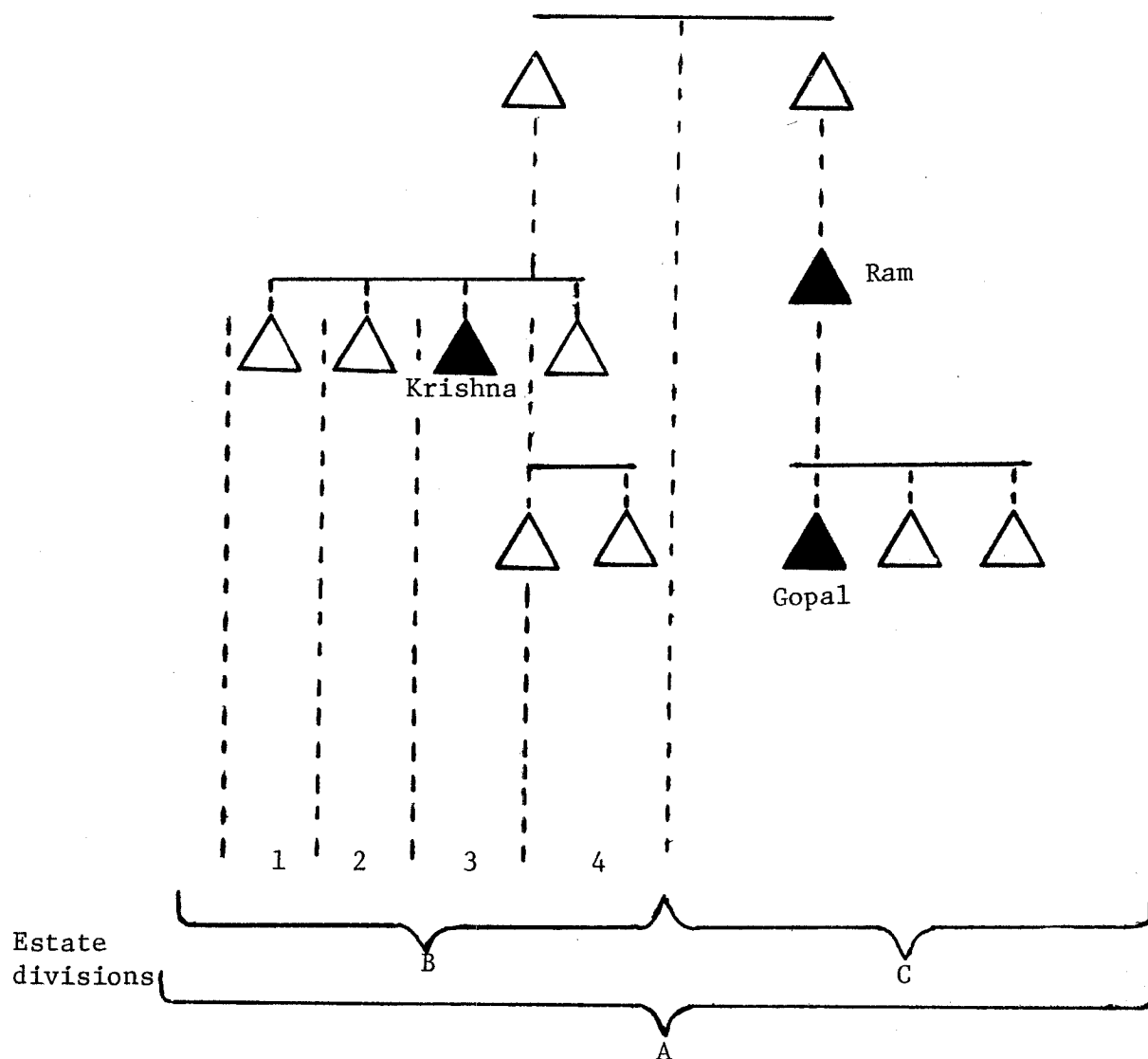
Krishna's problems were compounded by his growing desire to separate from his father's estate which, following the death of his father, he shared with one elder and two younger brothers. Quarrels among the brothers were constant, but Krishna was reluctant to leave since he had little hope for sons of his own on which he could build a security for his future.

At this time, Krishna's father's brother died. As this man's wife had died previously and the husband had not remarried, their only son, Ram, became an orphan. Ram is a classificatory "younger brother" to Krishna (FBS, younger in age to ego). Krishna saw in Ram an opportunity to deal with both his problems of childlessness and his desire for partition. Krishna offered to foster the orphaned Ram. Later he himself arranged the boy's marriage and, following the birth of a daughter and a son (Gopal) to Ram, Krishna separated from his brothers, taking along his wife, Ram and his wife, and their children.

What Krishna sought was to share fathership with Ram and toward this end he joined his property with Ram's (the portion inherited from his deceased father) and arranged Ram's marriage. No formal ceremony or legal registration attended Krishna's "adoption" of the future sons of Ram. It is simply understood by all participants that as Krishna reared and married Ram, Krishna will be allowed to share fathership with him as long as the two maintain joint property that Ram's sons will inherit.

Yet this arrangement, though valid in the eyes of Krishna, Ram, and many members of the larger community, is invalid in the eyes of Krishna's brothers. Should Krishna die without descendants, they would stand to inherit his land.

To understand the principles on which these factions are operating, it is helpful to draw out their relationships and the divisions made in the earlier, corporate estate:



Let us assume for the moment that Krishna dies childless and that he never attempted to share fatherhood with Ram. In this case his property goes to Devi, his widow; but on her death the property reverts to Krishna's brothers. Now upon Krishna's death, his brothers will argue that by these rules of property transmission, they have the highest claim. They will point out that originally all the property was one estate ('A' on the diagram) and that of this Gopal and his brothers should only inherit portion 'C'. They should not inherit portion 'C' plus '3' because

'3' belongs to segment 'B' which has already been divided from 'C'. The portion 'C' in their view should continue to pass in a lineal fashion, and they will dispute Krishna's right to pass it in a lateral direction away from their lines.

This inheritance problem becomes more dramatic as Krishna and Devi advance in age. As long as Krishna is an able and functioning household head, both he and Devi enjoy profits and maintenance from their land. They claim that later, when they are more aged, the extent to which Gopal and his brothers care for them will depend on the security of Gopal's belief that the inheritance will pass to him.¹⁰

We have traced the conflict between the norms of adoption and the far more complex realities of individuals' lives. In this case, the normal allowances for adoption are somewhat thwarted by the very real tensions between kinsmen, which are themselves set by the relationship between kinship structure and control over economic resources in rural Nepal.

The "House-Son-in-Law"

A man with daughters but no sons is in a rather different predicament from the childless man. First, if his wife is bearing daughters, the fertility of their union is at least established and they may long maintain hope that a son will be next. Hence, the man may bypass polygyny or adoption opportunities and be, indeed, quite advanced in years before he is forced to confront the fact that he may die without leaving a son.

At the same time, daughters provide an alternative which is not open to the childless. A man may marry his daughter to a groom who agrees to live uxori locally and himself become the surrogate son. The uxori local son-in-law is a widespread institution in South Asia. In Nepal, this man is called a ghar juwai (literally, "house son-in-law"). He contributes labour to his father-in-law's house, cares for his wife's parents when they are aged, inherits management of the family estate, and performs the death ceremonies for his parents-in-law. However, the ghar juwai does not become a member of his father-in-law's lineage. He retains identification with his own kin even though he forgoes rights to inheritance from them. What is even more significant, the ghar juwai's son will also be a member of his lineage and not that of the sonless father-in-law. Further, the father-in-law's srāddha is only performed in one descending generation (by the ghar juwai himself), and this duty is not transmitted to the ghar juwai's sons. For the sonless man, then, the ghar juwai is the end of the line.

Although this severe limitation on the ghar juwai alternative obtains in most Brahman-Chhetri areas in Nepal, Campbell (1977) reports an exception from Jumla. Here the ghar juwai's sons assume the thar of their mother and thus continue the name of their sonless grandfather, as well as the srāddha obligations to him. In addition, Campbell reports

that the thar of the ghar juwai becomes ambiguous in Jumla. For some purposes he retains the thar of his original family, while in other contexts he assumes the thar of his wife's father. Campbell describes a very interesting case where one man is a ghar juwai in one village but has another orthodox bihāite wife in another village plus a lyāite (elopement) wife in yet another place. In Jumla, then, the ghar juwai institution appears more flexible than in other Nepalese areas¹¹ and this flexibility favours the sonless man. We have already seen that elopement, too, is common in Jumla and that widow elopement is explicitly condoned as a means of acquiring children, Campbell (1977 personal communication) speculates that this greater flexibility of options may obtain in Jumla because childlessness there is a greater problem. Although we as yet lack statistics to compare Jumla with other Brahman-Chhetri settlements further south, it is quite probable that infant mortality and sterility there exceed that in Central and Southern Nepal. In any case, the Jumla alternative offers the important suggestion that a high incidence of infertility may bring about significant accommodations in Hindu institutions.

For most of Nepal, however, the ghar juwai alternative proves far from satisfactory. For one thing, timing is important. A man must cease his hopes for his own sons before he has married off all his daughters to other men. If a man fears he will not have a son, or if he loses a son after his daughters are married, he may ask one of his sons-in-law to become a ghar juwai after the fact. But such requests may be refused and usually are unless the son-in-law would stand to acquire a great deal more land from his wife's father than from his own father.

A related problem is that in this strongly patrilineal society, becoming a ghar juwai is far from prestigious. There will always be suspicion that the groom is somehow deficient; otherwise, he would have better prospects for marriage. And he will be the outnumbered outsider to his wife's kin in his new home, a glaring reversal of the norm. But for all concerned, the ghar juwai institution is likely to be uncomfortable because it obscures the religiously-sanctioned hierarchy of relationships between affines. As with other Hindu areas of South Asia, the bride's family is ritually lower than the groom's.¹² Throughout their lives, a couple must in several ways show deference and humility before their son-in-law. But in the ghar juwai institution, the father-in-law is in a position of secular authority over the son-in-law. At the same time, the bride escapes the usual subservience to her husband and his family. Thus the ghar juwai becomes something of a religious contradiction, and for this reason many sonless couples elect not to take a ghar juwai even if they are in a position to do so. One sonless couple explained to me that they would have felt sinful (pāplāgchha) had they taken a juwai (son-in-law) into their ghar (patrilineal home). They are now aged and but poorly cared for by the man's brother's son.

Finally, the ghar juwai institution, like adoption, may draw the participants into an eventual land quarrel. Here, the daughter has a clear right to inherit, but, as noted earlier, this is contingent upon the permission of the deceased's brothers or brothers' sons. Lynn Bennett (1977) suggests that public opinion generally favours the daughter and

her husband in such cases and that social pressure may be put on the deceased's brothers to grant their permission readily. Nevertheless, it may happen that the brothers of the deceased will withhold their permission, not as a means of denying the daughter her inheritance, but as a way of securing a portion of the estate for themselves by "making a little trouble."

Childlessness and Social Options: Some Comparisons With Sub-Saharan Africa

We have outlined the cultural roles of children in Brahman-Chhetri society and the economic and religious consequences of childlessness. It is evident that not only are there pressures on married couples to have several children, but there are very few viable means of compensating for the failure of a man and wife to have their own children. Polygyny, either by a second, orthodox marriage or unsanctioned elopement, in many ways proves to be the most satisfactory possibility open to a man. Yet both of these options are neither simple nor without cost (and they only open possibilities; they do not offer a "guarantee"). Adoption and the uxori-local son-in-law provide living, surrogate sons, but these alternatives are even more problematic in view of the nature of inheritance rules and kinship relations. In addition, none of the alternatives discussed can alleviate the stigma of barrenness for an individual woman.

The particular nature of the Nepalese situation can be illuminated by comparing Nepal with some traditional African societies, where the cultural stress on fertility and the importance of having children is equally strong. First we can consider the position of women. As with Nepal, childless women of many African societies are blamed for marital infertility, socially ostracized, and suspected of witchcraft. However, in clear contrast to Nepal and other Hindu areas, the African woman is less limited in the means by which she can alleviate her childless condition. In general, the childless African woman may more easily divorce her husband to test her fertility with another man; and in the matrilineal societies of Africa, she is positively encouraged to do so (e.g. among the Ahanti, Fortes, 1965: 280). There are numerous reports from Africa that a childless man will discreetly arrange for a friend to sleep with his wife in hopes that she will become pregnant and bear children in her husband's name (e.g. among the Zulu of South Africa, Gluckman, 1965: 184; the Fort Jameson Ngoni in Rhodesia, Barnes, 1951: 4; and the Bangwa of the Cameroon, Brain, 1972: 113). Some African societies have instituted the "linked co-wife"--a woman who joins a man in order to bear children to the name of his first, childless wife (e.g. the Ibo of Onitsha, Henderson, 1969: 147; and the Zulu, Gluckman, 1965: 185). A few African societies offer the distinctive "woman-woman" marriage as a option for childless women. Here, a woman obtains a "wife", hires a male to impregnate this woman, and becomes herself a legitimate social father to the children of this union (e.g. the Nuer of the Sudan, Evans-Pritchard, 1965: 108; the Bangwa, Brain, 1972: 60). And finally, widespread practice of the levirate in Africa keeps widows in automatic circulation and affords them a legitimate means of continuing to bear children.

For the childless man, too, Africa abounds with options. Some societies have even made use of "ghost marriages"---whereby a kinsman of a deceased, childless man marries a woman in order to produce children to the dead man's name (e.g. among the Nuer, Evans-Pritchard, 1965: 110-111; the Bangwa, Brain, 1972: 113). Ghost marriages offer a further guarantee that all men will eventually have social progeny. In such societies children are desired for the same general reasons that they are in South Asia---for heirship, to "continue the line" and to provide a person to worship one's spirit after death. In African societies practicing "ghost marriages," even the childless man dies with the reassuring knowledge that children will be born to provide all of these functions for him.

Clearly, not every African society is so arranged that childlessness is easily overcome, and alternatives to having one's own children may not be as prestigious as successful reproduction. But in general, Africa has developed a great variety of cultural means that expand the options for those who are unable to reproduce. And in some African societies the options are so numerous that long-term childlessness becomes practically impossible. Brain writes of the Bangwa of the Cameroon that -

A Bangwa needs a son and heir to succeed him and to worship his skull. A childless man runs into difficulties here since there is no system of adoption (1972: 112).

The necessity for sons is stressed, and it is clear that childlessness quickly becomes a serious problem for a Bangwa man. Yet immediately after this passage, Brain writes -

A slave, however, may succeed a childless man and make sacrifices to his skulls and produce a successor with his widows. ... Another means at the disposal of the childless man is to exhort his widows to remain married to him after his death, raising seed to him by taking lovers. This is a common situation in Bangwa. An impotent man may achieve the same result by allowing his wives to take lovers secretly. A man who has daughters but not sons will arrange for one of them to deliver children out of wedlock so that he may be pater to their children, one of whom will succeed him and worship his patriline skulls (1972: 112-113).

The multiplication of options here is evident. Among this same group, women may easily divorce their husbands if they suspect the latter's sterility (Brain, 1972: 162) and woman-woman marriage is also practiced (Brain, 1972: 60). It is clear that as a means of acquiring children, adoption among the Bangwa and most other African societies would be unnecessary, or redundant (cf. Goody, 1969: 75).

In this comparison, it is clearly seen that with regard to childlessness, the difference between Africa and South Asia is not so much one of cultural values (and their accompanying sanctions) but of the number and variety of means whereby individuals can exploit an alternative to bearing their own children. Childlessness is no less a tragedy in Africa, but it becomes less of a trap. This contrast with Africa also underlines the importance of social institutions, as well as cultural belief systems, to the problems of infertility in traditional societies. Some African societies have uniquely combined strong cultural pressures on fertility with institutionalized options for those individuals who fail to reproduce.

Childlessness and Social Change in Nepal

The view of childlessness among Brahmins and Chhetris presented here derives from a consideration of the interplay between traditional cultural values and institutions. These values and institutions constitute ongoing features of contemporary life in rural areas. At the same time, Nepal is facing important social and economic changes; and we may be able to specify (or at least anticipate) how these processes are affecting the phenomenon of childlessness.

One crucial factor influencing many aspects of life in rural Nepal, particularly in the hill areas, is increased pressure on the land. The problem is deforestation and soil erosion amid increasing population pressure, and the result is a diminishing viability of hill agriculture. Although many villagers are unaware of the particular ecological relationships that are undermining their economy, they sharply perceive that they are, in general, getting poorer. They are well aware that with each generation of sons, landholdings become smaller. Older men nostalgically speak of their "father's time" when the farming household controlled greater resources and enjoyed more plentiful supplies of food. As yet there is no evidence that this condition is encouraging people to limit family size, or that it is promoting, say, social approval for smaller families. On the contrary, the most notable response to these conditions has been an exodus of Nepalese from the hills to the recently-opened Terai--the southernmost section of Nepal.

As pressure on the land increases, we might predict that quarrels over its transmission will become more frequent, and that the social tensions which surround cases of childlessness are likely to become more acute. Mayer suggests from Central India that the very distant agnates of a man who dies intestate do not commonly make claims to inheritance, "But if pressure on land ... becomes very intense this might start--for men would seize any opportunity to claim from distant intestate kin" (1960: 246). A similar result might be predicted for Nepal, and we may find a wider network of agnates disputing the claims of a daughter or an adopted son, or quarrelling among themselves over the land of a sonless man. Under these economic conditions, the intensification of inheritance quarrels will be further likely if both customary and official laws remain flexible and manipulatable.

Another significant factor reshaping Nepal is public education (begun in the 1950's) and the steady increase in the numbers of young males attending school. Outside of urban areas, very few females attend school; and many of my village informants in Central Nepal were of the decided opinion that educating women was both useless and possibly dangerous.¹³ But for males, education is highly valued in rural Nepal; and literacy is seen as the key to new (non-farming) opportunities.

Boys who attend school, particularly if they advance to high school levels, quickly learn that their literacy and student status affords them a great deal of prestige. They are led to feel that their education distinguishes them as superior to the common peasant farmer. For as long as they can maintain their student status, they (in sharp contrast to most other household members) are virtually exempt from farm labour. In school they become increasingly exposed to a world outside their home and village. They become intrigued with what they hear of life in urban India, the West or, what is even more accessible to them, with Kathmandu.

But these same males have been married in childhood; and, in rural areas at least, the age of marriage for Brahmans and Chhetris does not appear to be rising. As a result, by the time he reaches high school, the young man of the village is caught between two conflicting roles. On the one hand he is reaching out to explore the new world of the modern and the educated. He dreams of going on to college in Kathmandu or of taking military service or a job there. Ultimately, he hopes that he will not have to take up farming as his life's work. But by another set of values, it is time for him to start a family and assume the roles of husband, father, and, ultimately, the head of a household. Young male students are explicitly reluctant to take on these responsibilities and so attempt to delay the onset of sexual relations with their wives.¹⁴ Several student informants have told me that they hope to avoid having children "until later" because the responsibilities of fatherhood will tie them down to the village and to farming. They want children after they have secured themselves a means of leaving the village way of life. In this process there is a clear negative effect on one other person: the young man's wife. She, being quite left out of education and new opportunities, is anxious to improve her status by the old means: child-bearing. Thus, as young men delay the onset of sexual relations with their wives, the period of low status for the childless wife/daughter-in-law is correspondingly lengthened for women. This period of low status childlessness for women could, of course, be shortened again by a rise in the age of marriage; and Lynn Bennett (1976; 2) reports that the age of marriage for woman is definitely rising in Brahman-Chhetri settlements closer to Kathmandu.

Needless to say, a young man's attempts to retreat from the roles of husband and father are the focus of innumerable family dramas. His parents will be anxious to have a grandson, and on this score will side with their daughter-in-law. At the same time, they desperately hope that their son will secure a non-farming source of income to contribute to

their household, and to this end they will encourage him to become a man of the world, even if this means he will spend a great deal of time outside the village and in urban areas. In general, the outcome of these conflicts rests on how quickly a young man is able to demonstrate that his education will pay off in economic terms. If, after high school, he is unable to secure a job, enter college, or otherwise show promise, he becomes something of an unproductive appendage to his household. Gradually, he will be given farm chores (drastically underlining a contrast with his former student days) and increasingly his parents, wife, and other kin will pressure him to start sleeping with his spouse. He will know, too, that in this context of village life and farming pursuits, his own hopes of being treated as a social adult, of securing independence and economic viability also depend on his having children. As outside, non-farming jobs become more difficult to secure in Nepal, this type of outcome to the young man's dilemma is likely to become more common.

Finally, along with other forms of development, family planning services are being made available to Brahmans and Chhetris in both rural and urban areas. Although the availability of contraception may have an impact on overall fertility, family planning services and education cannot by themselves reduce the fear of childlessness nor alter the effects of the cultural concern with childlessness on behaviour. Anthropologists and sociologists have repeatedly pointed out that a cultural belief system is a powerful factor that promotes a desire to have many children (and a morbid fear of producing few or none). Their argument is that "family planning education" is insufficient to motivate such people to limit their fertility. Opler, for instance, has written of population control programs in village India that -

...too often the analyses and the plans which see ignorance and poverty as the prime obstacles assume that there is a vacuum of need and receptivity which can be filled once these first barriers are overcome. Actually, there is no facet of Indian life where there are more profound and solid convictions than in the area of procreation and family life. It is only by taking into account this realm of practice and belief that those who are concerned with population control can appreciate the currents of thought and action which can aid or hinder them and which they will have to utilize, counter, bypass, or ignore (1964: 201).

In this examination of childlessness in Nepal, I have suggested that the concern with fertility is related to features of social structure in addition to the belief system. We have seen how a fear of childlessness can undoubtedly serve as a powerful motivation in reproductive behaviour. But this fear rests not only on the cultural beliefs and values surrounding children, but also on the fact that current social institutions among Brahmans and Chhetris severely limit the options of those who suffer reproductive failure.

Footnotes

1. My fieldwork in Nepal (1973-1975) was carried out under a fellowship granted by the Foreign Area Fellowship Program of the Social Science Research Council. However, the conclusions, opinions, and other statements made here are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Fellowship Program.
2. Notions that a single child is insufficient or marks a precarious state are common in many societies. In America, for instance, we find the saying, "An only child is a lonely child." Molnos (1968: 113-116) discusses the negative responses to the one-child woman in East Africa and notes the association of "one-child woman" with "almost barren." Among the Nuer of the Sudan, Evans-Pritchard reports that the transfer of bridewealth cattle (used to establish the marriage tie) only becomes fully nonreversible after a wife has borne two children for her husband. After this point is reached, a woman cannot officially divorce her husband or remarry. Even if a woman abandons her husband and lives with a lover, all her future children will belong to the husband if she has borne this husband two or more children (see Evans-Pritchard, 1965: 91-92 and 115).
3. Although the thar may be loosely translated as "clan", it does not represent a grouping of kin all of whom have rights and obligations to one another. Nor are all people of one thar necessarily related agnatically. Nevertheless, thar identification among Brahmans and Chhetris is transmitted agnatically and the thars are considered as ideally exogamous.
4. In these cases, the important ritual distinctions surrounding differences in caste status are still observed. Thus, for example, a high caste man cannot publically consume the boiled rice prepared by his lower caste offspring (or his lower caste wife).
5. The boundaries of "significantly lower" may not always be clear and there is likely variation on this point within Nepal, just as there is variation on caste orthodoxy and consensus of caste ranking between regions or even among individuals.
6. There may be cases where the inheritor, although responsible for the death rituals, lacks sufficient ritual purity to actually perform the ceremonies himself. This happens if a woman inherits or if the deceased's male heir is the product of an intercaste elopement union. In these cases, the inheritor may hire a Brahman male to perform the ceremonies or ask any male agnate of the deceased to perform them (Bennett, 1977: 235-237).
7. This order basically agrees with what Bennett (1977: 171) acquired from her informants. There are two minor differences: 1) in Bennett's order the agnatic, lineal transmission is only taken to the second

descending generation (SS) and 2) Bennett points out (and I suspect this applies to Central Nepal as well as in the area of her work) that another person, the son's wife, would inherit over the daughter.

8. Gabriel Campbell (1977) reports from Jumla that an adopted son may have an ambiguous patrilineal identity. If the adopted son belongs to a thar other than that of his adoptive parents (i.e. if he is not a close agnate already) and if his original thar is known, the son will be identified as a member of both his original thar and the thar of his adoptive parents. Thus he must still observe mourning for his real parents if they are known.
9. This code (effective since 1963) actually provides some legal flexibilities in adoption. Although Section 1 (quoted here) confirms a pressure to adopt close agnates, Section 4 specifies that orphans below the age of 5 whose parents are unknown may be adopted "notwithstanding the existence of a relative prescribed by law for purposes of adoption" (Nepal Press Digest, 1973: 2); and a Section 4A (added in 1970) grants that any child under 16 may be adopted if the child's father is dead and if the child's mother, guardian, or orphanage gives consent. This is allowed "Even if an agnate relative within seven generations who can be adopted according to the law is available" (Nepal Press Digest, 1973: 2). Nevertheless, customary law strongly favours agnates, and unless a sonless man (a) knows the official law and (b) knows how to use the law, it is unlikely that he can validly adopt an outsider in preference to close agnates. And in any case, his attempts to adopt an outsider will bring about quarrels with his agnates who would otherwise inherit from him.
10. At the time of my fieldwork, Krishna and his family expected a grueling land quarrel to take place upon the death of Krishna. More recently this family informed me that Krishna successfully managed to "sell" this property to Ram so that it will be inherited by Gopal and his brothers. Unfortunately, I have not had a chance to trace this recent development or to check whether Krishna's brothers have agreed not to contest this alienation of the property.
11. Campbell also notes the high incidence of ghar juwai (or matrilocal) marriages in the Jumla area: in one village these marriages accounted for 16% of all marriages (Campbell, 1977: 176). This contrasts with the village of my work in Central Nepal where only a couple of the 209 households had a ghar juwai.
12. In contrast to much of India (see Dumont, 1957, 1966) the Nepalese do not marry upward into superior ranked segments of their castes. Instead, it is the act of marriage itself that establishes the superiority of the groom's family (cf. Furer-Haimendorf, 1966: 32 and Bennett, 1977: 263). Thus Nepalese intracaste hypergamy obtains after the fact.

13. Gradually my informants confided that they feared to educate girls because after girls become literate "they will be able to write love notes." Their idea is that girls in school might be attracted to the males and literacy would only give them a new tool by which to carry on amorous liaisons. Most villagers of the older generation are illiterate, and, as one of them commented, "We could not even read their (the girls') love notes or know what they were up to." This sentiment well reflects the villagers' traditional conception of literacy as providing one with a great and mysterious power. As such, literacy would in many senses threaten the social control of females.
14. Some young men complained that while they were attempting to avoid the onset of marital sex, their wives were forever attempting to seduce them. This kind of public stance that young men assume on the issue of sex is not new but rather continues the traditional notions held by Brahman-Chhetri men that women "need" sex more than men and are generally prone to overindulge in this somewhat sinful act. For further discussion of this idea and for a look at what women have to say about it, see Bennett (1976, 1977).

References

- Barnes, J.A. 1951. Marriage in a Changing Society (Rhodes-Livingston Papers No. 20) London: Oxford University Press.
- Bennett, Lynn. 1976. Sex and motherhood among the Brahmans and Chhetris of East-Central Nepal. Contributions to Nepalese Studies 3: 1-52.
- . 1977. Mother's Milk and Mother's Blood: The Social and Symbolic Roles of Women among the Brahmans and Chhetris of Nepal. Doctoral dissertation for Columbia University, (forthcoming as Dangerous Wives and Sacred Sisters: The Social and Symbolic Roles of Women among the Brahmans and Chhetris of Nepal, New York: Columbia University Press, N.D.
- Berreman, Gerald D. 1972. Hindus of the Himalayas. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bista, Khem Bahadur. 1971. Le culte du kuldevata au Nepal en particulier chez certains Ksatri de la vallee de Kathmandu. These de 3e cycle, University of Paris.
- Brian, Robert. 1972. Bangwa Kinship and Marriage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, Gabriel J. 1977. Consultations with Himalayan Gods: A Study of Oracular Religion and Alternative Values in Hindu Jumla. Doctoral dissertation for Columbia University, unpublished.
- Caplan, Lionel. 1973. Inter-caste Marriages in a Nepalese Town. In C. von Furer-Haimendorf, ed., Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal, pp. 40-61. Warminster: Aris and Philips Ltd.

- Doherty, Victor S. 1974. The Organizing Principles of Brahmin-Chhetri Kinship. Contributions to Nepalese Studies 2: 25-41.
- Dumont, Louis. 1957. Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in South Indian Kinship (Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No. 12) London: Royal Anthropological Institute.
- . 1964. Marriage in India, the present state of the question (II. Marriage and status; Nyar and Newar) Contributions to Indian Sociology 7: 80-98.
- . 1966. Marriage in India, the present state of the question (III. North India in Relation to South India) Contributions to Indian Sociology 9: 90-114.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1965. Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fortes, Meyer. 1965. Kinship and marriage among the Ashanti. In A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Darryl Forde, eds., African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. pp. 253-284. London: Oxford University Press.
- Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph von. 1960. Caste in the multi-ethnic society of Nepal. Contributions to Indian Sociology 4: 12-32.
- . 1966. Unity and diversity in the Chhetri caste of Nepal. In C. von Furer-Haimendorf, ed., Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon. pp. 11-64. New York: Asia Publishing House.
- . 1971. Status and interaction among the high castes of Nepal. Eastern Anthropologist 24: 4-24.
- Gluckman, Max. 1965. Kinship and marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal. In A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Darryl Forde, eds., African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. pp. 116-206.
- Goody, Jack. 1969. Adoption in Cross-Cultural Perspective. Comparative Studies in Society and History 2: 55-78.
- Henderson, Helen Kreider. 1969. Ritual Roles of Women in Onitsha Ibo Society. Doctoral dissertation for University of California at Berkeley, unpublished.
- Leach, E.R. 1971. Introduction: What should we mean by caste? In E.R. Leach, ed., Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon, and North-West Pakistan. (Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, No. 2) pp. 1-10. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis Oscar. 1958. Village Life in Northern India. New York: Random House.

Madan, T.N. 1965. Family and Kinship, A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir. New York: Asia Publishing House.

Mair, L.P. 1953. General Characteristics of African Family and Marriage (Part I of "African Marriage and Social Change") In Arthur Philips, ed., Survey of African Marriage and Family Life. pp. 1-8. London: Oxford University Press.

Mandelbaum, David G. 1970. Society in India, 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____. 1974. Human Fertility in India. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mayer, Adrian C. 1970. Caste and Kinship in Central India. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Molnos, Angela. 1968. Attitudes toward Family Planning in East Africa. (Ifo-institute fur Wirtschaftsforschung Munchen Africa, Studien 28) Munchen: Weltforum Verlag.

Nepal Press Digest. 1973. Selections form the 1963 Legal Code, 1. On adoption, pp. 1-4. (Nepal Law Translation Series, Vol. 4) Kathmandu: Nepal Press Digest (Pvt) Ltd.

Opler, Morris. 1964. Cultural context and population control programs in village India. Chapter XIII in Earl W. Count and Gordon T. Bowles, eds., Fact and Theory in Social Science. pp. 201-221. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Roy, Manisha. 1975. Bengali Women. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Tambiah, S.J. 1973. Dowry and bridewealth and the property rights of women in South Asia. In Jack Goody and S.J. Tambiah, Bridewealth and Dowry. (Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, No. 7) pp. 59-169. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Watson, James L. 1975. Agnates and outsiders: adoption in a Chinese lineage. Man, 10: 293-306.



सिक्किमका काजी युक्ला थुपको नेपालमा शरण

धनवज्र वज्राचार्य

टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ

हिमाली देश सिक्किमसँग नेपालको राजनैतिक, धार्मिक, सामाजिक आदि सम्बन्ध निकै अघिदैँसि रहनु स्वामाविक छ । तर नेपाल र सिक्किमको सम्बन्धको सिलसिलेवार प्रामाणिक विवरण प्रकाशमा आउन सकेको छैन । फाटफुट विवरण मात्र प्रकाशमा आउन सकेको छ । यस विषयमा सोझी गरी प्रामाणिक विवरण तयार गर्दै जानु अभीष्ट छ ।

नेपालको सिक्किमसँग राजनैतिकमन्दा धार्मिक सम्बन्ध प्राचीन देखापरेको छ । मध्यकालमा राजनैतिक दृष्टिले नेपाल छिन्नभिन्न भएपनि त्यसवेला पनि नेपालका केही राज्यको सिक्किमसँग धार्मिक सम्बन्ध रहेको थियो । उदाहरणार्थ राजा सिद्धिरसिंहमल्ल र श्रीनिवासमल्लको पालामा ललितपुर राज्यको सिक्किमसँग रहेको धार्मिक सम्बन्धलाई अल्ल्याउन सकिन्छ । ललितपुर राज्यको सीमा त्यति विस्तृत थिएन । उपत्यकाबाहेक टिस्टुङ्ग पालुङ्ग आदि दक्षिण-पश्चिम मेकमा मात्र यस राज्यको केही विस्तार रहेको थियो । यस कारण सिक्किमसँग यस राज्यको सीमा जोडिने त कुरा थिएन । तर बौद्धमार्गीहरूले विशेष गरी मानिआएका प्रसिद्ध राता मत्स्येन्द्रनाथको मन्दिर ललितपुर राज्यमा परेको हुँदा ललितपुरको सिक्किमसँग सम्बन्ध रहेथ्यो । महायानी बौद्ध जगत्मा अवलोकितेश्वरको ठूलो मान्यता रहेको पाइन्छ । बौद्ध लामाहरूमा पनि अवलोकितेश्वरको मान्यता निकै रहेको छ । नेपालका अवलोकितेश्वरहरूमा राता मत्स्येन्द्रनाथको विशेष स्थान रहेको हुँदा तिनको दर्शन पूजनका लागि तिब्बत, सिक्किम मेकका भक्तहरू पनि सिक्किम आउँथे । फेरि राजा सिद्धिरसिंहमल्ल र श्रीनिवासमल्लको पालामा ललितपुर राज्यको धार्मिक-रवाफ पनि केही बढेको थियो । त्यस वेलाको गुहारयुगे राजनीतिमा श्रीनिवासमल्लहरूले निकै प्रभाव जमाएथे^१ । यसो हुँदा पनि त्यस ताका ललितपुरको सिक्किमसँग सम्बन्ध कायम भएको हुन सक्छ । जे होस्; तात्कालिक सिक्किमका राजाले प्रशस्त खर्च गरी राता मत्स्येन्द्रनाथको रथमा सुनका तोरण आदि कृति राख्न लाएथे । यस सम्बन्धी तात्कालिक विवरण पाइन्छ^२ ।

श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको अथक प्रयासले नेपालको एकीकरण हुन थालेपछि नेपालको सिक्किमसँग सोफो सीमा जोडियो । यसपछि नेपालको सिक्किमसँग राजनैतिक गतिविधि पनि बढ्यो । उता एकीकरण अभियान शुरू भइरहेको ताका सिक्किमले विजयपुरका सेनराजाको कमजोरीबाट लाभ उठाई पूर्वी नेपालको केही इलाका कब्जा गर्ने प्रयास गरेथ्यो^३ । यता चौदण्डी विजयपुर कब्जा गरी गौरखाली सैन्य अगाडि बढेपछि अवस्थामा अन्तर आयो । त्यस वेला पल्लो किरातमेकका केही प्रमुख व्यक्ति भागी सिक्किममा शरण लिन पुगे । तिनीहरूलाई

नियन्त्रण गर्नु आवश्यक हुँदा त्यस वेला सिक्किमसँग नेपालको युद्ध हुने सम्भावना देखाप-यो । तर श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाह दूरदर्शी राजनीतिज्ञ थिए । नेपालको एकीकरण गर्नु उनको अभीष्ट थियो; नेपाल राज्यको विस्तार गर्दै जाने उनको लक्ष्य थिएन । यस सम्बन्धमा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट थियो । हिन्दूपति सेन राजाहरूको राज्यसीमा तिष्ठासम्म रहेको हुँदा उनी त्यहाँसम्म मात्र बढ्न चाहन्थे । त्यताबाट बढेर सिक्किमको मूलभूमिमा आक्रमण नगर्ने उनको निश्चित योजना थियो । तर सिक्किमले कब्जा गरिराखेको पूर्वी नेपालको इलाका फिर्ता लिने भने उनले निश्चित गरेका थिए । साथै पल्लो किरातबाट मागी सिक्किममा शरण लिन पुगेकाहरूलाई सिक्किमले नेपाललाई सुम्पोस् मनी उनी चाहन्थे । यी कुरा मिलाई सन्धि गर्ने उनले विश्वामित्र उपाध्याय गङ्गानन्द आचार्य आदिको दूत-मण्डल सिक्किम पठाएथे । यस कुरामा सिक्किमले सम्झौता गर्ने विचार नगरी सिचोल फि-के सिक्किमउपर आक्रमण गर्नुपर्ने सम्भावना पनि उनले देखेका थिए । तर मरसक सिक्किमसँग बलप्रयोग गर्ने नपरोस् मनी उनी चाहन्थे । योगी मगवन्तनाथलाई र पूर्वतिरको काजमा संलग्न अभिमानसिंह बस्नेत आदि मारादारहरूलाई लेखेका पत्रमा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको सिक्किम-प्रतिको उक्त नीति स्पष्ट रूपमा देखापर्छ । विचारार्थ तिनको अलिकता मागको उद्धारण यहाँ दिनु प्रासङ्गिक देखिन्छ -

‘किरातको अम्बल मदेश पहाड मोट जति थियो, आफ्ना आशीर्वादले सबै फल्य मयो, मध्येशमहाँ कनकाई नदी पहाडमाहाँ सामाणोलो तमोर नदीको साध लाग्यो, मानिस काट्न पाह्येनन्, माग्यो, कति मोगलानातिर गयो, कति सुणिमतिर गयो,---बाकी सुणिमसँग हाम्रो घा हुन लागिरहेछ, घा बन्यादेणि किरातबाट मागी जान्याकन पकरेर हामिलाई साँपिदिन्याछ, घा नबन्या अब हामिले सुखिसँग लड्नुपन्याछ, सुखिम आइजाला आफ्ना आशीर्वादले कत्तु गराला,--- उप्रान्त हाम्रा विश्वामित्र पाध्या गङ्गानन्द आचार्य सुखिम गयाका छन्’

(वि.सं. १८३१ माद्रमा योगी मगवन्तनाथलाई लेखेको पत्रबाट^४)

‘इस्लिम्बा चाथापुसम्म जति हाम्रो फौज पुग्यो त अब त्या जग्गा छोड्नुहैन बलिया गरि गढि ताहि बनाउनाछन् बनाव, वांकि इस्लिम्बा चाथापुसम्म हाम्रो अम्बल मयापहि कनकापूर्व तिष्ठापश्चिम पनि अम्बल गरिहाल्न्याहो, घटिया देस् आफुले णाईकन आमद हुन्या बढिया देस् छोडनाको प्रयोजन केही होईन, अम्बल गर्न्यो हो, तर इस्लिम्बा चाथापु साध गरिकन पनि सुणिमले हामीसँग घाये गर्ने पस्यो, कटक् गर्नमहा पसेन त कनका हेरि बेफौ तर्नु, इस्लिम्बा चाथापु लिंदा सुणिम चकिगयो, घा तोडिहाल्यो त आणिर तेत्ति-महा पनि बटकिगयो त मधेस छोडन्या होइन, हिंदुपतिको साध तिष्ठासम्म चाँडे गरिहाल्न्या हो, यो काज वुफनु ताहि प-याको छ । ----- वांकी इस्लिम्बा चाथापुदेणि पुढो अम्बल गर्ने जानु हैन, सुणिम अईलाग्या एका ठाउँ बनाईकन कत्तु गन्या चाँजो गर, सुणिमका

पुराना देशमहा गया माथि लासासंग बिग्रन जाला, तसुअथै उपल्ला मुष्णतिर लासाका दसमहा चार अंगुल पनि सांघ चापनुकैन, प्रजालाई दुष् दिनु पनि कैन । सुष्णिमका पुराना देशमहा पनि जानु कैन:

(वि.सं. १८३१ आश्विनमा अभिमानसिंहकालाई लेखेको पत्रबाट^४)

यसरी पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले सिक्किमसंगको सन्तुलन मिलाएका थिए । तर सीमाना जोडिएका देश हुँदा नेपाल र सिक्किममा बराबर घटेका घटनाहरूको असर यी दुइ देशको सम्बन्धमा पनि स्वभावतः परिरह्यो । यसकारण कहिले नेपालले सिक्किममाथि प्रभाव फैलाउने र कहिले सिक्किमले नेपालको पूर्वी भागमा प्रभाव जमाउने जस्ता घटना घटिनै रहे । प्रस्तुत निबन्धमा त्यस्ता सबै घटनाको चर्चा गर्नु प्रसङ्ग प्राप्त कैन । एक दुइ घटनाको मात्र संक्षिप्त चर्चा यहाँ गर्नुपरेको छ । जसबाट प्रस्तुत विषयको पृष्ठभूमि बुझ्न मद्दत मिलोस् ।

वि.सं. १८४८ मा नेपाली सेना उता पश्चिमतिर गढवाल पुगिरहेको थियो; यता तिब्बतसंगको लडाईँमा नेपाली सेनाले डिगची जितेथ्यो; अनि तिब्बतको मदतको लागि चिनिया फौज तिब्बतमा आइपुगेको थियो । यस अवस्थामा तिब्बतले सिक्किमलाई उठाएर नेपालको पल्लो किरातमा विद्रोह मच्चाइदियो । पल्लो किरातका लिम्बू आदिलाई मड्काएर सात आठ हजार फौज लिई सिक्किमले चयनपुर सिद्धपोखरीमा आक्रमण ग-यो । तर नेपाली सेनाले यस आक्रमणलाई विफल तुल्याइदियो^५ । यस्तै घटनाको प्रसङ्गमा नेपालले पनि सिक्किमका केही प्रदेश कब्जा गरेथ्यो^६ । नेपाल-अंग्रेजयुद्ध पछि ती प्रदेश नेपालले अंग्रेजसरकारलाई सुम्पि दिनुपरेथ्यो^७ । सुगौलीसन्धिको लगत्तैपछि अंग्रेजसरकारले सिक्किमसंग सन्धि गरी ती प्रदेश सिक्किमलाई सुम्पिदिइएका थिए^८ । नेपालले सिक्किममा गढबडी मचाउनेकैन तथा नेपाल र सिक्किमको बीचमा कलह वा मतमिन्नता पैदा भए त्यसको समाधान अंग्रेजसरकारको मध्यस्थतामा गरिनेछ भन्ने शर्त पनि सुगौली-सन्धिसँग परेको छ । यस्तै भावको शर्त सिक्किमसंग गरेको सन्धिसँग पनि परेको छ ।

यसरी नेपाल र सिक्किमको सीमाविवाद नउठोस् भन्ने प्रयत्न गरिएको थियो तापनि सिक्किम सरकार चिन्तित नै थियो । यसै हुँदा तिब्बततिरबाट पनि आक्रमण गरिने डर नहोस्; नेपालबाट पनि डर नहोस् भन्ने विचारले वि.सं. १८८३ तिर सिक्किमका राजाले पुरानो राजधानीलाई नै अन्त सुरक्षा ठाउँमा सार्ने योजना बनाए । यस कुरामा सिक्किमका तात्कालिक देवान (मुख्यमन्त्री) सहमत भएनन् । राजाका मामा हुँदा ती देवान पनि शक्तिशाली व्यक्ति थिए । यसरी राजा र देवानमा उग्र कलह देखाप-यो । यसै प्रसङ्गमा सपरिवार देवानको वध गराइयो^९ ।

यस घटनाको असर नेपाल र सिक्किमको सम्बन्धमा पनि प-यो । ती देवानको वध गराइएपछि उनका भतिजा काजी युक्ला थुप सपरिवार सिक्किमबाट भागेर आई नेपालमा शरण पर्न आए । उनका साथमा लेप्चा, लिम्बू, सुब्बा आदि आठ शय जति सिक्किमवासीहरू

पनि नेपालमा शरण पनि आए । सुगौलीसन्धिको फलस्वरूप मेचीदेखि पूर्वतिरका प्रदेश गुमाउनु-परेको कुरा नेपाल सरकारलाई खटकिरहेको थियो । यस कारण नेपाल सरकारले काजी युक्ला थुप र उनका साथ शरण लिन आएका सिक्किमवासीहरूलाई सुशीसाथ शरण दियो । यिनीहरूबाट दुइ कुराको लाभ उठाउने विचार नेपाल सरकारले ग-यो । पहिलो - यिनीहरूमाफत सिक्किममा आफ्नो राजनैतिक प्रभाव फैलाउने । दोस्रो - यी शरणार्थीहरू र भविष्यमा आउने यस्तै अरू शरणार्थीहरूबाट जनशक्ति प्राप्त गरी इलाममेकका इलाका आवाद गराउने । यसो हुँदा नेपाल सरकारले काजी युक्ला थुप परिवारलाई क्रमशः अनेक सुबिधा प्रदान गरेको थियो । काजी युक्ला थुपका वंशज पद्मचन्द्र लेप्चासँग नेपाल सरकारले वेला वेलामा लेखिदिएका लाल-मोहर आदि केही सकल पत्रहरू रहेका छन्^{११} । ती पत्रहरूबाट तात्कालिक निकै कुरा बुझ्न मद्दत पाइन्छ । विचारार्थ ती पत्रमा परेका कुराको केही चर्चा यहाँ गर्नुपरेको छ ।

पूर्वी नेपाल इलाम मेकमा नियुक्त सुब्बा जयन्त खत्रीले काजी युक्ला थुपहरू नेपाल पसी शरण मागेको कुरा नेपाल सरकारलाई अवगत गराएपछि नेपाल सरकारतर्फबाट जनरल भीमसेन थापा आदि उच्चस्तरका मारादारले उनीहरूलाई शरण दिने स्वीकृति दिई पहिलो पत्र वि.सं. १८८४ ज्येष्ठमा लेखे । त्यस पत्रमा काजी युक्ला थुपलाई 'उप्रान्त सुष्णिम आफ्ना घरमा णलूक् पदी आफ्ना जाहान बच्चा र अरू रैतिहरूसमेत पिछा पनि आयाको विस्तार --- मालुम भयो, अघि पनि त यांहिको होस्. आज पनि निमक् सम्फी आफ्ना जाहान बच्चासमेत रैतिहरू लि पीछा पनि आउन्त्या काम् बढिया गरिह्वस्.' भनिएको छ । यसबाट काजी युक्ला थुप अघिदेखि नै नेपाल सरकारसँग मिलेका रहेछन्; साथै उनले भित्रभित्रबाट नेपाल सरकारबाट आर्थिक लाभ पनि उठाएका थिए भन्ने संकेत पाइन्छ । यसै हुँदा नेपाल सरकारले उनलाई सुशीसाथ शरण दिइएको हो । सुगौलीसन्धिपछि पनि नेपाल सरकार सिक्किममा आफ्नो राजनैतिक प्रभाव फैलाउने दाउमा थियो भन्ने यताबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । हुन पनि यी शरणार्थीहरूमाफत नेपाल सरकारले सिक्किमका इलाकाभित्र केही गडबडी पनि उठाएको थियो । तर यसबाट नेपाल सरकारलाई केही लाभ भएन । अंग्रेज सरकारले भने यस गडबडीबाट लाभ उठा-यो । यसै गडबडीको सिलसिलामा अंग्रेज सरकारले सुन्दर स्वास्थ्यप्रद दार्जिलिङ्ग प्रदेश हात ला-एथ्यो^{१२} ।

वि.सं. १८८५ वैशाखको दोस्रो पत्रमा नेपाल सरकारले काजी युक्ला थुपलाई 'जागीर' दिएको कुरा परेको छ । यी युक्ला थुप आदि सिक्किमवासीहरूलाई शरण दिनामा राजनैतिक बाहेक आर्थिक कारण पनि थियो; यिनीहरूबाट इलाममेकका आवाद नभएका जग्गा आवाद गराउने पनि नेपाल सरकारले विचार गरेको थियो भन्ने चर्चा माथि गरिसकेको छ । त्यस कुराको पुष्टि यस पत्रले पनि गर्छ । 'जागीर' दिँदा प्रायः आवाद जग्गा दिइन्छ । किनभने जागीर पाउने अधिकारीले त्यताबाट उठेको रकमले निश्चित अभिभाराको निर्वाह गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ ।

तर काजी युक्ला थुपलाई दिइएको जागीर आवाद जग्गाको रूपमा थिएन । यस हक्कापत्रमा त्यसको स्पष्ट उल्लेख परेको छ; साथै 'मोट मोगलानाबाट रैति ल्याई जग्गाको तरदुद तलास गरी --- मोग्य गर ' भन्ने पनि उल्लेख परेको छ ।

वि.सं. १८८६ ज्येष्ठको अर्को पत्रबाट काजी युक्ला थुपका साथमा आएका सिक्किमवासी-हल्ले त्यस वेला जम्मा १०१ घर बसाएका थिए भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । उनीहरूलाई बाँफा रैकर जग्गा दिइएका थिए; उनीहरूलाई निकै रकमहरू माफ गरिएका थिए; केही घरले एक रूपैयाको दरले श्रीनाथकम्पनीलाई दस्तूर बुझाउनुपर्थ्यो; केही घरलाई त्यो पनि माफ थियो भन्ने पनि त्यस पत्रबाट बुझिन्छ । आवाद नभएका पूर्वी भेक आवाद गर्ने उद्देश्य हुँदा '---बस्ति बसाइ जग्गा आवाद गुलजार गरि वस ' भन्ने पनि त्यस पत्रमा लेखिएको छ ।

वि.सं. १८८७ श्रावणको अर्को पत्रमा काजी युक्ला थुपले श्री ५ महाराजाधिराजको दर्शन भेट गर्ने विन्ति चढाएकोमा 'आफ्ना चाहिन्या मानिस ली दसै अघि येक फेरा हाम्रा हजूरमा आउनुया काम गर ' भनी स्वीकृति दिइएको कुरा परेको छ । यसरी काजी युक्ला थुप काठमाडौँ राजधानीमा पनि आएका थिए भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ ।

यसै गरी काजी युक्ला थुप र उनका वंशजहरूलाई समेत नेपाल सरकारले अनेक सुबिधा दिँदै गएको थियो । मानाचावलको बन्दोवस्त, गादीमुमारख चुमावन जस्ता रकम कलम समेतको माफनी, ठेकस्थिति आदि सुबिधा गरिदिइएका थिए । राणाशासकहरूले पनि उक्त सुबिधा थामिदिइएका थिए । सिक्किमसम्बन्धी मामिलामा पछि सम्म पनि युक्ला थुपका वंशजहरूले नेपाल सरकारको सेवा गर्दै आएका थिए । १९४२ सालको गादीमुखारख माफ गरी लेखिदिइएको पत्रमा 'दोसाधमा बसी सर्कारबाट परीआयको टहल गन्या हुनाले ४२ सालमा लाग्याको गादी-ममारण माफ गरी बक्स्याको छ ' भनिएको हुनाले उक्त कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ ।

यसरी काजी युक्ला थुपले नेपाल सरकारबाट प्रोत्साहन पाएका हुँदा उनले इलाम फिक्कलनिर आफ्नो मूल वासस्थान बनाए । त्यहाँ उनले निकै ठूलो भवन पनि बनाउन लाए । जुन भवन जीर्ण अवस्थामा अहिलेसम्म मौजूद छ । सो भवन तीन तलाको छ । त्यस भवनको पछाडिको आधा भाग भत्किसकेको छ । त्यस भवनमा पुरानो नेपालीशैलीका काठका ठूलठूला ढोका रहेका छन्; काठको बाँदली रहेको छ । त्यस भवनमा ढुङ्गा र पक्की ईटका गाड्ना रहेका छन् । त्यस भवनको मोहडाको एक ठूलो कोठालाई 'गुम्बा' को रूप दिइएको छ । त्यहाँ डेढ हात जति अग्लो पद्मासन बुद्धमूर्ति रहेको छ । त्यहाँ केही बौद्ध ग्रन्थहरू, पुराना बाजाहरू र पूजासम्बन्धी माँडाकुँडाहरू पनि रहेका छन् । यस गुम्बाका भित्ताहरू रंगिन भित्तिचित्रहरूले सजाइएका छन् । त्यहाँ विभिन्न मुद्रामा बुद्धमूर्तिहरू चित्रित छन् । यस गुम्बामा पहिले लामाहरूद्वारा नित्य पूजा पाठ हुन्थ्यो भन्ने सुनिन्छ । दुइतिर लहरै लामाहरू बस्न बनाइएका आसनीहरूले उक्त कुराको संफना अफै दिलाइरहेका छन् । तर हाल वर्षाको एक पटक मात्र पूजापाठ हुन्छ । हाल यहाँ पूजा पाठ गर्ने स्थायी लामा नहुँदा पूजा पाठ गर्नुपर्दा फेनसँग गुम्बाका लामा बोलाइन्छन् ।

यसरी काजी युक्ला थुप परिवारको त्यो भवन र गुम्बा वास्तुक्लाको दृष्टिले मध्यम-
खालको मात्र छ तापनि शुद्धमा यो निकै आकर्षक हुंदो हो भनी सजिलैसँग अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ ।
केही काल यता आएर भने त्यसको अवनति शुरू भयो र सो जीर्ण अवस्थामा पुगिसकेको छ ।

युक्ला थुप र उनका वंशजहरूलाई नेपाल सरकारताफबाट लेखी दिइएका पत्रहरू

(१)

श्रीदुर्गा

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमच्चौतरिया प्राणसाह श्रीजनरल भीमसेन थापा श्रीकाजी -
२. दलभन्जुपाडे श्रीकाजी भक्तवीर थापाकस्य पत्रम् ---
३. आगे काजी युक्ला थुपके यथोचित् उपाति सुष्ठिम आफ्ना घर -
४. मा णल्क् पदाँ आफ्ना जाहान बच्चा र अरु रैतिहरूसमेते पिछा -
५. पर्न आयाको विस्तार सुवा जयन्त णतृबाट सबै विस्तार मालुम भ -
६. यो. अधि पनि त आहिको होस्. आज पनि निमक् सम्फणी आफ्ना -
७. जाहान बच्चासमेत् रैतिहरू लि पीछा पर्न आउन्त्या काम् बढिया ग -
८. रिह्स्. बसन्त्या जगहहरूको बन्दोवस्त गरिदिनु भनी सुवा जयन्त -
९. णात्रिलाइ लेखि गयाको छ. बन्दोवस्त हुन्यैछ. आफ्ना णातिजैमासँग -
१०. सुवासँग सामिल् मै बसन्त्या काम् गर श्रीहजुरमा विन्ति पारि णातीजै -
११. माको लालमोहर पनि मै आउन्त्या काम होला. इति संवत् १८८४ -
१२. शाल ज्येष्ठ सुदि ६ रोज ६ शुभम् - - -

(२)

श्रीदुर्गाज्यू

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकस्य हक्का - - -
२. आगे काजी युक्ला थुपके जिल्लै मोरंग मोतालुकै इलाम गढी प्रग -
३. न्ना धाईजानमध्ये विरगनदीदेष्णी पूर्व. पहाडदेष्णी दक्षिण टेमैन -
४. दिदेष्णी पश्चिम वाइसावाडीका सिमानादेष्णी उत्तर. एति चारक्ला -
५. भित्रको कालाबंजर मतलक वैरान केही पैदावार नहुन्त्या जंगला -
६. हजारदादर जागीरदारले मोजरा मागनुपन्याँ बाफो पन्याको माँजे -
७. मदनपूर ससीम १ तलाई जागीर गरीबकस्याँ. आफ्ना णातीरज्मा -
८. सँग मोट मोगलानाबाट रैति ल्याई जगाको तरदुद तलास गरि हा -
९. प्रा नीमकको सोफो चिताई फाकफोक् अडामा नया श्रीनाथ क -
१०. पनीका साथ हाजीर रजु रही कंपनीलाई भनी मयाको जगा गुल -

११. जार गरि जागीर गाउ ली भोग्य गर. इति सम्बत् १८८५ साल मि -

१२. ति वैशाख वदि ७ रोज २ शुभम् ---

मार्फत - दलमन्जन पाँडे मार्फत भीमसेन थापा मार्फत फत्त्यजङ्ग साह

मार्फत - रणजोर थापा मार्फत उदयगिरि मार्फत कुलमानसिंह बस्न्यात

१. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्र चुडामणिनरनारायणोत्थादिविविधविह्वावली -
२. विराजमान मानोन्नत श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराज राजेन्द्र -
३. विक्रम साहवहादुरसम्सेरजङ्गदेवाना सदा समरविजयिनाम् ---
४. आगे काजि युक्ला थुपके साल ८३ मा तेरा साथमा आयाका लाप्च्या रै -
५. ति गैह्लाह जिल्लै चयेन्पुरका अम्बल कर्फोक फाक्फोकमध्ये अ -
६. धि ह्वाउनिका जाचमा ठाउठाउमा लिंनु सुवाका ठेकमा दरियाको घ -
७. रबाहेक वाकि नया घर १०१ के अधिदेष्णिको वाफो रैकर जगामा आ -
८. फना आफना कुटा कोदालाले कमायाको वारि सुवारा णरक घरको सा -
९. उन्या फागु मेकचीन डेहकुड म-यो आपुताली चाक्चकुह वाजवी अ -
१०. स्मानी आमीलानसिवाये राज अक कल्यानधन धर्माधिकार हाति -
११. का दाँत गैडा णाग वच्चा गौरीगाहका सिङ्गो बच्चा रहता वहता रति कल -
१२. मवाहेक राणि तेरा साथका अर्दली घर १० तेरा माहका साथका अर्द -
१३. लि घर ६ तेरा भतिजाको साथका अर्दलि घर ४ जमा घर २० वाहेक
१४. वाकि घर ८१ लाह घरहि रूपैया ४ का दरले साल ८५ देष्णि ठेक जमा
१५. रूपैया ३२४ साल बसाल नया श्रीनाथ कम्पनीमा दाण्णिल गर्नु भनि
१६. सुवा जयन्त णत्रिमार्फत भयाको ठेकका मोहरमा सिकस्त हुँदा हाम्रा
१७. हजूरमा आइ विन्ति गर्दा अधि तेरा साथमा आयाका लापच्या घरम -
१८. ध्ये अर्दलि घर २० थप सिकारि घर ४ जमा घर २४ वाहेक राणी वाकि
१९. रह्याका घर ७७ लाह घर १ के रूपैया १ का दरले तिर्नु. अब उप्रान्त
२०. पनि तैले तसल्ल्येह, गरि वसायाका लाप्च्या घरलाह तेहि दरसी -
२१. त उठाइ श्रीनाथकम्पनीमा सालबसाल दाण्णिल गरि फर्णति लिनु
२२. भनि बन्धेज वाधि मोहोर गरिवकस्याँ. आफ्ना णातीर् जमासित
२३. निमको सोफो गरि वस्ति वसाइ जगा आवाद गुलजार गरि ठे -
२४. क तारि वस इति सम्बत् १८८६ साल मिति ज्येष्ठ वदि ३० रोज २ शुभम्

मार्फत - भीमसेन थापा मार्फत रणोद्योत शाह मार्फत फत्त्यजङ्ग साह

मार्फत - दलमन्जन पाँडे मार्फत रणजोर थापा मार्फत उदयगिरि

मार्फत - कुलमानसिंह बस्न्यात

१. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्रबुडामणिनरनारायणोत्थादिविविधविह्वावलि विराज -
२. मानमानोन्नतश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराज राजेन्द्रविक्रमसाह -
३. बहादुरसम्भोजहुँदेवाना सदा समरविजयिनाम् --- --- ---
४. स्वस्ति श्रीकाजी युक्ला थुपके आशिष, उप्रांत तैले हाम्रो दर्शन गर्न आ -
५. उनाको हिरादा गरि धनकुटा काजी बहादुर मंडारिसंग आउदा काजी बहा -
६. दूर मंडारिबाट सबै विस्तार अधि श्रीजनरललाई लेख्नेको रहेछ र श्रीजन -
७. रलबाट तेरो विस्तार हाम्रा हजूरमा विंति प-यो. हाम्रो दर्शन गर्न आउनको
८. हक्का बढिया गरिक्स्. आफ्ना चाहिन्या मानिस् ली दसै अधि येक फेरा
९. हाम्रा हजूरमा आउन्त्या काम गरे. इति सम्बत् १८८७ साल मिति श्रावण
१०. वदि १४ रोज २ मुकाम कातिपूर शुभम् ---

(५)

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकस्य हक्का - - -
२. आगे युक्ला थुपके साल ८६ मा सुवा जयन्त षातृमाफत म -
३. याको मोहरमा सिकस्त हुदा तैले आइ हाम्रा हजूरमा विन्ति गर्दा
४. अधि तेरा साथमा आयाका लापच्या घरमध्ये अर्दली घर
५. २३ बाहेक राष्णि रह्याका घरलाइ घर १ के रूपैया १ का दरले ति -
६. नुँ. अवप्रान्त पनि तैले तसल्लह गरि बसायाका लापच्या घ -
७. रलाइ तेहि दरसित उठाइ --- मा सालबसाल दा -
८. णील गरि फारणाति लिनु भन्या बन्देजको मोहोर गरिवकस्या -
९. को हो, ६१ सालेदेष्णि कप्तान हरिमक्तले ३ रूपैयाका दरसित
१०. उठाउन लाग्याक्नु. साल ६१ देष्णि पनि साल ८६ मा भया -
११. का लालमोहरबमोजिम थामि तेरो जागीर कजाअमी षान-
१२. गीमा जादा तस्को सट्टा तिनै घरमा दरियाका घर १ को रूपै -
१३. या ३ मध्ये १ रूपैयाका दरले --- लाइ सालबसाल
१४. बुफाइ २ रूपैयाका दरले तैले षानु गरिवकस्या. आफ्ना षा -
१५. तिरज्मासंग निमकको सोफो गरि वस्ति बसाइ जगा आबा -
१६. द गुलजार गरि ठेक तारि वस. इति सम्बत् १८६१ साल मि -
१७. ति श्रावण सुदि ६ रोज ३ शुभम्

माफत पुष्कर साह, माफत रणोद्योत साह माफत भीमसेन थापा माफत उमाकान्त सपाध्या
माफत रणोजोर थापा माफत दलभजन पाडे मा. चामु मंडारी

(६)

दुर्गासहाय

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकस्य ह्वक्ता - - -
२. आगे काजि युक्ला थोक येक जिहं येक नामगेके जिल्ले मोहं
३. मोतालुकै विजेपुर प्रगना राजगढ फाफा मौजे मेहमेडामध्ये
४. कनकानदिदेशि पश्चिम वन्यानि नदिदेशि पूर्व हातिसार म -
५. डारगाह सिंहनाथको थानदेशि उत्तर मदहारि वनियानि न -
६. दिका दोभानदेशि दक्षिण येति चारकिलाभिन्नको पुरन गो -
७. साझीको गह १ महादेउविश्वासको गह १ सुकारुको ग -
८. ह १ फडुरामको गह १ कालु णत्रीको गह १ आसालाल
९. होरियाको गह १ जमा गह ६ चारकिलाभिन्नको आवादि ---
१०. रानि जगा साल ६४ देशि तिमिहल्लाई माना चावल गरि
११. वकस्या जगा गुल्जार गरि इलाममा बस्न्या मारादारसंग सा -
१२. मेल मै परिआयाको काज काम गरि हाम्रा निमकका सौफो चि -
१३. ताई आफ्ना सातिरज्मासंग माना चावल जानि मोम्य गर. हति "
१४. सम्बत् १८६४ साल मिति वैशाख वदि ११ रोज २ शुभम्
माफत पुष्करसाहः माफत भीमसेन थापा माफत रणद्योतसाह
माफत तारानाथ अज्याल माफत फत्यजहु० साह
माफत दलभन्जन पाँडे माफत रणजोर थापा
माफत रंगनाथ पंडितराज
माफत दिप्तिमानसेरपाडे

(७)

१. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्रुडामणि नरनारायणोत्पादिविविधविक्रुदावलि विराजमा-
मानोन्नत श्रीम - - - - -
२. हाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराज राजेन्द्रविक्रमसाह वहादुरसम्सेरजहुदेवाना सदा
समरविजयि -----
३. नाम् - - - - -
४. आगे काजि युक्ला थुप् काजि जिहं काजि युक्फिच्यु काजि युक् नामगेके जिल्ले चैनपुरका
अम्ब - - - - -
५. ल् करफोक् फाक्फोक्मध्ये महामायासे पूर्व मेजिसे पश्चिम चुन्याडाडासे उत्तर थोगोमा
डाडासे दक्षिण

६. यति चारुक्लाभिन्न जगाको इस्तक सम्बत् १८६५ सालसँ लगायत् अधि ह्वाउनिका जाचमा लिम्बु सुवाका
७. ठेकमा दरियाका घरवाहिक ८३ सालमा तिमिहेल्का साथमा आयाका सुवा लाप्चा लिम्बु रैयत गै -
८. झले आफ्ना कुटा कोदालाले बिद्रायाको घर घडेरि वारि सुवारा षरक घरको ठेक साउन्त्या फागु मेगजीन
९. डंड कुंड चाकचकुइ चन्द्रायन् जो गि पैसा वाजवि अस्मानि आमिलात रकं कलं मारीमेट्टी सिवाय राजअंक
१०. कल्यानधन हातिदात गैडा षाग वच्चा गौरीगाईका सिंग वच्चा रहतावहता मन्थो अफुताली वाहिक राष्णि काजि यु -
११. क्ला थुप् काजि जिहंन काजि युक् नाम्गे पट्टि अदेली घरवाहिक ठेगाहा घर १ को दर मोहर रुपैया ३ मा
१२. घर १ को २ रुपैयाका दरले उठाइ तिमिहेल्ले षानु घर १ को १ रुपैयाका दरले घरको ठेक र गोलाका रु-
१३. पैसा जाचका ढडामा दरियावमोजिम असुल तहसिल गरी साबसाल नया श्रीनाथ पल्टन्मा दाष्णिल
१४. गर्नु मन्थ्या बन्देज वाधिवकस्यौ, रस्ति चलाइ वस्ति वसाइ जगा गुल्जार गर्नु. अमालि-बाट षोला द्वा-याले
१५. सील्या नहाल्नु. ढडाबमोजिम ठेक रुपैया किस्ता माफीक वासील् वाकि बुझाइ साल-बसाल फारणति --
१६. नु. आफ्ना षातीरज्मासीत ठेक् तारि धिति जानी इलाम ह्वाउनीमा रुजु रही हाम्रा निमक्को सोफो चिताइ मो-
१७. ग्य गर. इति सम्बत् १८६५ साल मिति वैसाख वदी १ रोज ४ शुभम्.

(८)

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमदतीप्रचण्डभुजवण्डेत्यादी श्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराज जङ्गवहादुर रा -
२. णा जी.सी.वी. प्राइम्मीनीष्टर यांड कम्पाडर ईन् चीफकस्य रुक्का ----
३. स्वस्ति श्रीमद्राजकुमारकुमारात्मज पश्चीमतफीका कम्पाडीडो जन-
४. रल श्रीजगत्सम्सेरज कुवरराणाकस्य पत्रम् ---
५. जागे लापचा काजी येक वीदूरके अधी तीमीलाई लालमोह-
६. र गरी माना चावैल वेकस्याको मेडा मेडा जगाको चर्सा महाल्को रक्म
७. ६५ सालदेष्णि १७ सालसम्म लाग्याको धीयेन. हामीले षाई आया-

८. को थियु. १८ सालदेखि यो रकम् मालमा जमा बाधियो मनी लेफ-
९. टेन् कर्णालि गजराजसींह थापा केत्री माफत् तैले हाम्रा हजुरमा
१०. वीन्ति पादा जाहेर मयो तसर्थ तीम्रा माना चावल भीत्र मेढमेढा जगा-
११. को १७ सालसम्म चर्माहालको रकम् तीमीहल्ले णाई आयाको
१२. साचो को मन्या २२ सालका बालीदेखि त्यो रकम् माफ गरी वकस्याको
१३. ह. तीम्रा माना चावल भीत्रका चर्माहालको रकम् तीनी पदेन. तीमी-
१४. ले णानु मन्या रुक्का दस्णत् गरिवकस्या. इती सम्बत् १६२१ साल मीती
१५. माघ वदी ४ रोज १ शुभम्.

(६)

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमद्दत्तिप्रचण्डभुजदण्डेत्यादी श्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराज वीरसम्सेर जङ्गल राणा बहादुर प्राईमीनीष्टर
२. याण्ड कम्पाण्डर इन चिफकस्य रुक्का -----
३. स्वस्ति श्रीमद्राजकुमारकुमारात्मजश्रीकम्पाण्डरइनचीफ
४. जनरल खडसम्सेरजङ्गल राणावहादुरकस्य पत्रम् -----
५. आगे जिल्ले मोर मागका हाकीम् कारिंदाके यथोचित उप्रांत
६. मोर जील्लामध्येको अधी हामीलाई वकस्याको माना चा-
७. वल जगाको १६ सालको चुमावन उठाउदा चुमावन लाग्छ
८. मनी मोरंतर्फ तहसील गर्ने जान्या हाकीम्ले पक्रदा अधी
९. गादीममारण पनि माफ पायाको हुं हाल चुमावन लाग्नुप-
१०. नै होइन मन्या वेहोरको हाम्रा बाबु लापच्य काजि ये-
११. क विदुरले विंतीपत्र पठाउदा अधी गादीममारण लाग्दा पनि माफ पा-याको हुनाले लापच्य काजि येक-
१२. वीदुरलाई वकस्याका माना चावल जगाको चुमावन् नलिनु मन्या लेफटेन् कर्णालि रीपुमन्जन् पा-
१३. डे दोत्रीका नाउमा रुक्का दस्णत्को सनद गरी बक्रादा माफ पायाको हुं हाल गादीममारण तहसी-
१४. ल गर्ने अडाबाट गादीममारण ल्याउ मनी टंटा गरिरहेकन् प्रभू अधीदेखि गादीममारण गेह-
१५. धुवा चुमावनसमेत्, माफ पाइआयाको हुनाले हाल गादीममारण लाग्नुपर्ने होइन, मोरंतर्फ गादी-
१६. ममारण तहसील गर्ने अडाका नाउमा इनहंका मानाचावल जगाको गादीममारण नलिनु मने

४८ सि एन ए एस जर्नेल

१७. हुक्का दर्ष्णात्को सनद १ गरीवक्से सो अडाले टंटा गर्देन हो प्रभु हाम्रा नाउमा सनद नहुनाले जेलै र-
१८. कम् उठ्छ टंटा लागी वरावर फीजोवीन्ती चढाइ सनद गराउनुपर्ने हुनाले तिमैहरूको पाषाण लापचा घ-
१९. र मध्येस् णुवास्मेतको गादिममारण गोडधुवा चुमावन् लगायेत् सर्वै रकम् माफ् गरि-वक्स्यो भवे
२०. हाम्रा नाउमा लालमोहोर १ स्मेत गरीवक्स्या दोसाध मुलुकमा रहि परीआयाको टहल गरी हजुर-
२१. को जये मनाइ रहदा हुं सो १६ सालको चुमावन् माफ् मयाको हुक्का दर्ष्णातको नकल स्मेत ये-
२२. सैमा गासी जाहेर ग-याको हु. जो मजि हुकुम् भनी ४३ साल कार्तिक सुदी ६ रोज ३ मा लापच्याका का-
२३. जी श्रीमानचन्द्रवीरले चढायाका रपोट्मा रक वंदोवस्तका १६ लवरका अनवमोजीम् गादीममारण
२४. चुमावन गोडधुवा केही नतिर्नु भन्या लालमोहर दस्तावेज देणाउन्त्यासंग लगत नकस्नु भन्या सवाल
२५. मयाकेमा मोरं जील्लामध्येलाइ वक्स्याका जगाको अधी गादीममारण लाग्दा पनि माफ वक्स्या-
२६. को हो, यस्पालाका चुमावन लाग्छ भनी टंटा गर्ने लागि रहेछ, गादिममारण माफ पायापछी चुमा-
२७. वन पनि मैले माफ पाउन्त्या हुं भनी लापच्या काजी येकवीदुरले वींती चढाइपठाउदा श्रीपूर्वतर्फका कम्याडिड् जनरल माह श्रीधोरसम्सेर जंजुवर राणामार्फत
२८. हाम्रा हजुर्मा वींती पादी जाहेर मयो. तसर्थ लापच्या काजी येकवीदुरलाई वक्स्याका जगामा १६ साल
२९. को चुमावन माफ गरि वक्स्याको छ टंटा नगर छोडीदेउ दरघर मात्र गरी ल्याउनु हपैया नलीनु
३०. भन्या २० साल आषाढ सुदी १५ रोज ४ मा लेफटेण्ट कर्णेल रिपुमंजनपांडे केत्रीका नाउमा छ-
३१. क्का दर्ष्णात् मयाको हुनाले र दोसाधमा बसी परीआयाको सर्कारको टहल गन्या हुनाले लापच्याका
३२. काजी श्रीमानचन्द्रवीरलाई वक्स्याका मना चावल जगामा ४२ सालमा लाग्याको गादीममारण

३३. लागूदैन लगत असुलीमा टंटा नगर मैन्या मोरं मालका नाउमा सनद गरीवकसनुपली की म-
३४. न्या लागू जो मजी हुकुम मनी गादीममारण बंदोवस्तका हाकीम कारीन्दाले हाम्रा हजुरमा वींती
३५. पादी जाहेर भयो तसर्थ मलाइ वकस्याका जगामा अधी गादीममारण लाग्दा मनी माफ वकस्या-
३६. को हो. यत्पाला चुमावन् लागू मनी टंटा गर्न लागी रहेछ मनी लापच्याका काजी येकविदु-
३७. रले श्रीधुवाज्यू माफत वींती चढाइ १६ सालमा लाग्याको चुमावन माफ गरी वकस्याको हुनाले र दोसा-
३८. घमा बसी सर्कारवाट परीआयाको टहल गन्या हुनाले ४२ सालमा लाग्याको गादीममारण माफ
३९. गरीवकस्याको छ लगत असुलीमा टंटा नगर मैन्या रुक्का दस्णत् गरीवकस्या इती सम्बत् १९४३ साल
४०. मीती मार्ग वदी ६ रोज ७ शुभम्.

१. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, 'चाँतारा मगरिथ मेया', पूर्णमा ५ पूर्णाङ्क, संशोधन-मण्डल, काठमाडौं, वि.सं.२०२२, पृष्ठ २३-२६ ।
२. श्रीहेमराज शाक्यको संग्रहमा यस विषयको कागजपत्र रहेको छ ।
३. बाबुराम आचार्य, 'श्री ५ बडा महाराजाधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाह' (संक्षिप्त जीवनी) भाग ३, श्री ५ महाराजाधिराजका प्रेस सचिवालय, राजदरबार, काठमाडौं, वि.सं.२०२४, पृष्ठ ६०३ ।
४. नयराज पन्त र अरु, 'श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको उपदेश' जगदम्बाप्रकाशन, ललितपुर, वि.सं.२०२५, पृष्ठ ११८८ ।
५. उही, पृष्ठ ११६४-६५ ।
६. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र ज्ञानमणि नेपाल, 'ऐतिहासिक पत्रसंग्रह' पहिलो भाग, नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद्, काठमाडौं, वि.सं.२०१४, पृष्ठ ५४-५५ ।
७. 'Gazetteer of Sikkim', Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1972 (Reprinted) p. 19.
८. योगी नरहरिनाथ, 'सन्धिपत्रसंग्रह,' वि.सं.२०२२, पृष्ठ ८२ ।
९. उही, पृष्ठ १६४-६५ ।
१०. 'Gazetteer of Sikkim' Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, 1972 (Reprinted) p. 19.
११. तात्कालिक माननीय शिक्षाराज्यमन्त्री डा. हर्षबहादुर गुहडोको आदेशानुसार त्रि.वि. नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थानतर्फबाट हामीहरू युक्लाथुप-परिवारको भवन आदि-को निरीक्षणको लागि हलाम फिक्कलमा गस्थ्याँ । त्यसवेला युक्ला थुपका वंशज श्रीपद्मचन्द्रलेप्चाज्यूको साँजन्थले ती पत्रहरूको उतार हामीले लिन पायौं । पाठकलाई अध्ययनार्थ सुविधा होस् भनी ती पत्र यस निबन्धमा समावेश गरेका हौं ।
३०. मन्था २० साल आषाढ सुदी १५ रोज ४ मा लेफटेण्ट कर्नेल रीपुर्जनपाडे हेत्रीका नाउँमा छ-
३१. क्का दस्णात् मयाको हुनाले र दोसाधमा बसी परीआयाको सक्तीको टहल गन्थ्याँ हुनाले लापच्याका
३२. काजी श्रीमानचन्द्रवीरलाई क्कस्याका मना चावल जगामा ४२ सालमा लाग्याको गादीममारण



preliminary report on the langtang region

Andrew R. Hall

The work of Frank (1974a; 1974b) has for the first time provided researchers with a comprehensive picture of the varied populations living throughout the central regions of Nepal, but, as the author points out, it is a task which by its nature is never finished for populations are in a state of continual flux. Moreover the demographer can only paint a very broad picture, leaving it to others to fill in the details. My intention here is to provide some basic ethnographic information on the little-known Langtang region of north-central Nepal, and to compare and contrast the different groups living there with respect to kinship and ritual behaviour.¹

Langtang Lirung (23,770'), the holy mountain from which the area takes its name, stands in the far north-eastern corner of Rasuwa District, on the Nepal-Tibet border, dominating the region. For the purposes of this essay I shall take 'the Langtang region' as being the area which is drained by the Langtang Khola, the river which, rising in the glaciers of Langsisa, flows some 22 miles due westwards to its confluence at Syabru Bensi with the south-flowing Bhote Kosi (Fig. 5) (later the Trisuli) - an area of some 200 square miles completely encompassed within the boundaries of the Langtang National Park. This has a certain geographic unity for the Langtang Khola slices a deep trench between the Langtang massif to the north and the 15,000-foot hills of Gosāikunda (S.I. - Pālang Chatī Dānda)² and is furthermore closed at its eastern end by further mountain ranges. Although two passes exist south into the Helambu (Yol-mo) region they are open only in the summer months and are little-used; by and large all traffic follows the river westwards. But the principal reason for delimiting this area is that within it are found three population groups representing variations on the theme of Tibetan culture - the Tamangs living near the confluence of the two rivers who, while speaking their own language and practising their own customs, are strongly influenced by Tibetan culture particularly in their religious life; the Tibetan-speaking people of the isolated Langtang Valley itself who seem to occupy an intermediate position; and the Tibetan refugees from the Kyirong region of Tibet just over the border who have lived in Rasuwa since their emigration in 1959 and seem likely to become permanent inhabitants.

-
1. Based ongoing fieldwork legun in June 1977 and financed by the Social Science Research Council of Great Britain and the Central Research Fund of the University of London.
 2. S.I. = Survey of India. Spelling according to their one-inch series map of the area.

Rasuwa District, due north of Kathmandu, is one of the most sparsely populated in Nepal; according to Frank's figures there are c. 15,000 inhabitants of whom 88.9% are Tamangs. In the northern part of the district where about 6,000 people live the proportion of Tamangs is nearer 95%. Administratively the northern region is divided into 8 panchayats:- Timure, Birdim, Langtang, Syabru, Goljung, Gatlang, Thuman and Chilime. According to 1973 Government figures the smallest of these is Langtang with 69 houses and 353 people and the largest Syabru with 272 houses and 1287 inhabitants. Average household size is 4.9. The region here considered includes all of Langtang pancayat, 5 of the 9 wards of Syabru pancayat with some 600 people and 6 households in Birdim pancayat (Syarpagaon which belies its name by being exclusively inhabited by Tamangs). The main villages are Brābal, Syabru Bensi, Thulo Syabru and Langtang, each of which also has a number of satellite hamlets.

The early history of the area is far from clear but it seems reasonable to assume that until the unification of Nepal by Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1769, a number of petty chieftains or rājas ruled the territory. Remains of their fortresses or darbārs may be still seen, for example at Bhargu, but of their names and deeds nothing seemingly remains. Following their conquest of Nepal the Gurkhas were still in an expansionary mood and made a number of expeditions up the Bhote Kosi and into Tibet, raiding and looting as far as the provincial capital of Shigatse and thereby incurring the wrath of the Chinese Emperor who considered Tibet as a vassal state. In 1791, according to tablets erected in Lhasa and a boundary stone at Rasuwa Garhi, a punitive expedition of ten to twelve thousand men was sent against the Gurkhas, speedily recapturing the lost territory ("crossing mountains as though they were level plains, traversing rivers with great waves and narrow gorges as though they were small streams") and pressing on down the Trisuli as far as Betrawati on the outskirts of the Kathmandu Valley, where the Gurkhas sued for peace (Forbes, 1977: 126-9). The ancestor of a present Syabru family fought in these campaigns and is still revered as an almost king-like figure, his descendants also being accorded a high status.

Following the seizure of power in 1846 by the Kunwar lineage, who later adopted the hereditary title of Rana, the area came under their sovereignty and they received the land taxes - Rs. 300.50 in the case of Syabru per annum. When the monarchy once again regained power the tenure system was changed to raikar in B.S. 2007, individual villager's rights to their land being recognized by the state on condition of an annual tax being paid - Rs. 2.25 per hal of land (a hal being defined as the area of land which can be ploughed by a pair of oxen in a day). In addition, a house tax of between one and two rupees is also paid. Both are received by the pradhan pancha in the month of Baisākh who, for example, collects Rs. 2400 now in land-tax for the pancayat of Syabru.

Within the Langtang region are found a wide variety of ecological zones ranging from the semi-tropical area around Syabru Bensi below 5,000' up to the high mountain regions of 15,000' or more. Because of its precipitous and rocky nature much of the land is unusable; not surprisingly that which is suitable for crops or pasture is generally found in the

vicinity of the main villages. Owing to the wide altitude variation climatic conditions differ markedly over short distances, permitting several growing seasons and a variety of crops. Thus in the region of Syabru cultivated land extends from 7,000' to 9,000', above which the forest begins. At the higher elevations potatoes and wheat are grown; lower down, the staple crops are wheat, maize and kodo (a rye-like grain, eleusine corasana). These are supplemented by a number of other minor crops - pumpkins, turnips, radishes, nam-nam (tam.)-an oil-bearing plant, Khāru - another grain, soyabeans (tam. - mode), haricot beans (tam. - tamrra) and apples. Syabru land is of high quality, well-terraced but unirrigated, and in a good year the people are self-sufficient in food for 9 or 10 months. All families own land but the size of holdings varies considerably from 2 or 3 hal for a poor family up to 10 or 12 hal for the better-off. Most work is performed by individual family members, particularly ploughing using a personally-owned plough and borrowing oxen from the few families who own them. However, some particularly laborious and labour-consuming tasks are carried out in small groups usually of kin or friends, such as weeding, planting kodo, and reaping. Weeding is generally done by women, reaping by mixed groups and ploughing always by men. The staple diet consists of flour and potatoes, rice - imported from Trisuli - only being eaten on festival days or special occasions.

Higher up the valley around Langtang village the land becomes flatter and terracing less important, but the soil is stony and of poor quality. Because of this and the severe cold during all but the summer months the people of Langtang can only raise three crops a year - potatoes which the planted in Baisākh and harvested in Kartik, and two grains, gyā-pre and khāru which are planted in Cāit and harvested in Asoj and Sāun respectively. They can produce sufficient food for only 6 to 8 months of the year and have to import considerable quantities from Trisuli. Thus animal husbandry is of correspondingly greater importance in this part of the region.

In addition to sedentary agriculture, semi-nomadic pastoralism is practised throughout the area, as in many other hill-regions of Nepal (cf. Alirol, 1976). While agriculture may be considered the more basic pursuit, in that it provides the main food-supply and occupies the majority of the working life of the people, the ceiling imposed on landholdings by its relative scarcity means that a man can only become truly rich through his ownership of cattle. Amongst the Tamangs whilst all own some land only about half have cattle and only a few of these have substantial holdings. However, in Langtang itself which relies on them for subsistence almost everybody owns at least a few cattle and on average holdings are larger than in Syabru. Combining these two modes of life is achieved through a division of labour within the family and the system of temporary accommodations called goth in Nepal. Two members of the family, usually teen-aged children or a young boy and an older man live either permanently or in rotation with other family members in the goths, portable structures of wicker-work thrown over a frame of sticks with a covering of bracken or leaves for the floor. A minimal collection of household equipment is stocked, together with the equipment for butter-

making. Fierce mastiffs are kept both to herd sheep and to protect the property. Occasionally, a whole family may elect to live in the goth reserving their main village house for storage purposes. Every month or so the herds must be moved to fresh pastures, usually on a collectively agreed date, and the men and cattle in the course of the year thus travel considerable distances over a fairly precisely defined course. Thus Syabru cattle reach their highest point just under 13,000' in Asoj and Bhadau, moving down in Kārtik to 9,500', then in Mangsir and Pus they graze on the stubble in the village fields manuring the ground at the same time; with the approach of winter they spend Māgh, Phāgun and Cāit at their lowest point in Syabru Bensi; the following year they reverse their course up through Syabru, the upper hamlets and then the high hills again. Further up the valley the pattern is somewhat different for the river itself rises from 10,000' to over 13,000' and the herds follow its course up and down, the herdsmen living in more permanent summer settlements.

Differing conditions are reflected also in the composition of the herds. Yak do not thrive at low attitudes and consequently are not kept in any numbers by Syabru people. They prefer the dzo-mo, yak-cow cross-breds which give copious and rich milk; some 12 men own about 130 of these, the largest herd being 26. Their value is high, estimates ranging from Rs. 1500 to Rs. 2000. Many cows are also kept - valued between Rs. 500 and Rs. 800 - but mainly for breeding purposes rather than their milk, which is poor. The cattle are never slaughtered but if they die in some other way their meat is eaten. Many people also keep sheep and goats principally for their wool, which the women card, spin and weave to make the short-sleeve jackets worn by all men and the syāmā or back-cloth worn by women.

Langtang people, however, keep a greater number of yaks, female yak (di) and bull-di hybrids (rimzo) - these are said by Syabru people to be greedy and lazy. Males may be used for ploughing but there is insufficient trade for them to have any role as pack-animals. Pasture land appears to be of three types:- communally owned, government owned, in which case a tax of Rs. 1 per animal is payable, or under the control of the local cheese factories (at Chandanbāri, Kyang-jin and Yāla), in which case the milk must be sold to them. This last is the case in the upper valley but some Syabru people who have a choice, prefer to make their own butter and sell it for grain. The cheese factories operate for five months in the summer and produce anything from 30 to 50 kilos of cheese per day.

The exigencies of maintaining these two systems - agriculture and animal husbandry - imposes a certain amount of strain on the people and poses them a dilemma. On the one hand a man with a small family is severely handicapped for labour and has every incentive to increase his family size. On the other, since the inheritance is divided equally between sons - and all Tamangs desire sons - the more he has the more their patrimony will be reduced. This is undoubtedly an important factor

in the continuing migration of men to India either permanently or for a number of years service in the army, saving their pay to buy additional land and cattle on their return. Some of the most prosperous men in the area have successfully done this.

Various other sources of income in addition to their farming activities are also available to the people, most notably from trade and tourism. With the improvement of paths, the provision of an airstrip at Kyang-jin gomba and owing to its proximity to Kathmandu, the Langtang region has seen a steady growth in the numbers of tourists making treks - 900 in the '76/'77 season and over 700 in under half of the current season. Those benefiting most directly from this influx are the Tibetan refugees who are not permitted to own land and have very few cattle; they are thus much more dependent on trade and service activities than the rest of the populace. They own a total of 7 small lodges or hotels providing accommodation and food, often with shops attached, each of which may have a turnover in excess of Rs. 10,000 per year. It seems that the Tamangs have only recently realized the potential of this trade and are themselves hurriedly making plans to compete. A further source of income for the Tibetans comes from the manufacture of handicrafts - belts, jackets, sweaters, blankets and so on, and the sale of trinkets; the handicrafts are either sent to Kathmandu for sale or sold directly to tourists, most of the women being engaged in the work. Poorer members of the community also find employment as porters with tourist parties whose advent fortunately coincides with the slack season in the fields. This work earns them Rs. 15 to 20 per day. Also under the heading of tourism, we may mention the Gosāinkund festival at the full-moon of Bhādāu (janai purnimā) when many thousands of Hindus from the Kathmandu Valley and further afield come to bathe in the sacred lake and change their sacred threads. At this time, some 30 to 40 Syabru men take simple building materials up to the lake-side where they construct temporary shelters for the pilgrims who pay Rs. 2 per night's stay, each shelter accommodating 40 or 50 people.

There is little doubt that the volume of trans-Himalayan trade in the area is much reduced from what it formerly was and would stand no comparison with the more westerly trade routes in their heyday. Nevertheless, local people can still travel freely over the border as far as Kyirong and trade continues to play a significant part in the local economy, most men making a couple of trips a year. They carry products such as sakhar (unrefined sugar), rice, chillies and agricultural produce to Kyirong where they are bartered for salt and Tibetan brick tea in particular, and a variety of Chinese manufactured goods - matches, tennis shoes, pottery, cloth etc. The round trip takes 5 days and some items, particularly the tea, can advantageously be carried over to the Helambu region for resale. The profit involved would appear to be in the region of 300% (discounting the labour involved and time away from other activities). Trips are usually made singly or with a friend, the goods being carried by the men rather than pack-animals. There is also a certain amount of trade in the reverse direction, to the south, particularly for Langtang people who collect a variety of medicinal herbs in the high mountain re-

gions and sell them in the bazaar town of Trisuli for up to Rs. 30 per dharni, bringing back grain and manufactured articles. This trade seems to be diminishing as a result of over-exploitation of the natural product.

Craft activities in the area are in general unspecialized, with the exception of a few part-time carpenters who are employed for house-building and the like. There are no permanent blacksmiths or tailors but peripatetic teams travel the countryside stopping a few weeks in each village to mend tools or make clothes to order. Wickerwork mats and baskets are woven by the men while women are responsible for weaving heavy woollen cloth, but these activities are done on an individual basis and not for sale. A weaving centre under the auspices of H.M. Dept. of Cottage Industries has been established in Syabru Bensi and a number of local women, usually young and unmarried, are employed there with the object of teaching new skills and techniques to the local people.

Social Organization

As mentioned at the beginning the area contains what appear to be at least three different population groupings - the Tamangs who inhabit the region between 5,000' and 8,000', the Langtang people who live above 10,000' and the one-time inhabitants of Kyirong who, when not involved in the tourist trade, live in a number of special camps built for them.

The Tamangs of Syabru and the surrounding villages are divided into a number of patrilineal and exogamous clans. The following clan names have been recorded: - Theba, Thokra, Shangba, Lopchen, Singden, Karmapa, Plön, Waiba, Ghale, Dongba, Pidako. Each clan is associated with a number of special divinities, represented by a stone kept in the house, which are collectively worshipped at the full-moon of Baisākh. According to local tradition the Shangba were the first to settle in Syabru 7 generations ago, followed by the Thokra and the Theba. Others such as the Lopchens are more recent arrivals of two or three generations ago while some are represented only by a few women who have married into the village from other districts. No trace remains of the original habitations and there no longer seem to be special quarters or wards associated with particular clans, except in the case of Karmapas who are the sole inhabitants of the village of Chumdi. There is no trace of a horizontal division into bārajāt and athārajāt groupings such as Fürer-Haimendorf (1966) reported for eastern Tamangs, nor has the concept of 'brother-clans' which form larger exogamous groupings mentioned by other writers been discovered. One informant claimed that at one time the Tamangs were all one with the other hill-peoples and were the natural heirs to Nepal - as 'proved' by the fact that Manjushri, the god who drained the Kathmandu Valley of water and rendered it habitable, was in fact, a Buddhist god! - and that only with the passage of time had they become split up into many races and clans. He thought that the athārjāt may have existed at one time but had since disappeared.

Numerically the clans are quite unequal in size, usually one in particular dominating a village or an area. Thus in Syabru over half the population are Thebas whilst some clans are represented by only two or three families, whereas in Bhargu for example it is the Plöns who are in the greatest number. Although concepts of purity and pollution are generally undeveloped amongst the Tamangs there is a certain hierarchical ranking of clans observed. Thus from their own point of view the Ghales who are believed to be the descendants of kings are not Tamangs at all but a group of higher status. This status is marked both by diet - they are not supposed to eat beef, pork or chicken - and by speech, there being a number of honourific terms for 'come', 'go', 'eat' which vary from standard Tamang. In all other respects of language and culture, however, they appear to be indistinguishable from Tamangs. At the top of the 'true' Tamang clans comes the Karmapas, at any rate in their own estimation, the clan from which most but not all lamas are drawn. Next are the Thokras who once fulfilled the ministerial functions but unlike the lamas there no longer seem to be any behavioural markers of their status. The remaining clans are all of equal status. The Tamangs do consider themselves superior to the 'untouchable' castes although as none live in the area they have few dealings with them. Kāmis, and Damāis are not permitted in Tamang homes and must do their work outside or on the verandah. Comensual or sexual relations with members of these castes is liable to lead to a degradation of a Tamang's status vis-a-vis his fellows. People are aware that H.M.G. has expressed disapproval of divisive behaviour between castes but nevertheless remain firm in their belief that all people are not equal.

As a group Tamangs are highly endogamous, brides always being sought within the village or the surrounding area not more than a day's walk away. Very occasionally marriages may be contracted with the Sherpas of Helambu or rarely with Tibetans. There is no intermarriage with the people of Langtang. Polygyny is permitted but found in fewer than 10% of marriages, generally only among richer men. The senior wife maintains her authority and, as friction between wives is common, peace is often ensured by the man maintaining two homes and living in each alternately. Polyandry is entirely prohibited.

Marriages may be contracted at any time after the age of 13 or 14 but it appears that customs are changing in this respect with many girls remaining unmarried until their 20s. Neolocal residence is established at the time of marriage. Occasionally, where a man has no sons his son-in-law may come to live in his house, working his fields. In return the son-in-law will inherit the property, after conducting his father-in-law's gyewa or death rites. In this event he will forfeit his rights to his own father's property. This institution is known in Tamang as mā gomma. Divorce is common particularly in the early years of the marriage before there are children. Leviratic marriage when an elder brother's dies is also practised, but marriage with a younger brother's widow is not permitted.

It has previously been reported (Hüfer, 1969) that the preferred mode of marriage among Tamangs is bilateral cross-cousin marriage with the MBD and FZD. In view of this kinship terms were collected and these were found to be entirely consistent with such a system. (see Fig. 1). Thus FB and Wife are called by the same terms as MZ and husband, and their children are known by the same terms as brother and sister, all being unmarriageable. Conversely MB and wife and FB and husband are referred to by the same terms. (MB - ashang - is also used as a formal term of address for any older man, unless or course he is in fact an ahu). And their marriageable children are also referred to by the same term. Although Tamangs of the Langtang region agree that this form of marriage is permitted or is 'a good thing', genealogies so far collected indicate that in fact it is a fairly rare occurrence, not only between 'true' cross-cousins but even between classificatory kin of the appropriate clan. Further work is expected to show that in fact the demographic imbalance in the size of the clans makes this form of marriage an unlikely event, except in the cases where a) either two clans of roughly similar size form alliances in this way, or b) the major clans of two villages set up reciprocal relations. To put it another way, while members of the minor clans can always be sure of finding brides within the major clan, the greater number of available men in the major clan permits them a reduced choice, often forcing them to seek brides outside the village altogether.

The Kyirong Tibetan system is quite different from that of the Tamangs. Polygyny is rare but until recently polyandry was a usual practice, several brothers marrying one woman. The Tamangs frankly recognise the superiority of this system to their own for it tends to conserve family wealth rather than dissipating it. The practice now seems to be falling into desuetude for a number of reasons: it is forbidden by Nepalese law and seen as unusual by the westerners on whom Tibetans increasingly model themselves, but more significantly given the restrictions placed on their freedom of travel and the small number of other Tibetans in the area (some 300 who have been omitted from Frank's survey) its continuance would lead to large numbers of women remaining unmarried. Moreover with their lands gone and few with much wealth to conserve its rationale has all but disappeared. Cross-cousin marriage is not permitted this being considered incestuous; exogamy is defined by a bilateral kindred of several generations' depth and there is no clan system. Kinship terms are much less clear-cut although not without similarity to Tamang terminology. There appear to be no special terms for the spouses of MZ and FB and all cousins except the children of FZ are known by the terms 'son' and 'daughter' (see Fig. 4).

Finally, there is the somewhat vexed question of the status of the Langtang people. To all enquiries from the time of Tilman's first visit to their villages up to the present day they have consistently given the reply Tamang or Lama-Tamang when asked their 'jāt' (Tilman, 1952). Frank, however, who made a special visit to the region, decisively identified them as 'Bhotiya and Sherpa' and gave their numbers as 219. As we have

Fig. 1. - TAMANG KINSHIP CHART

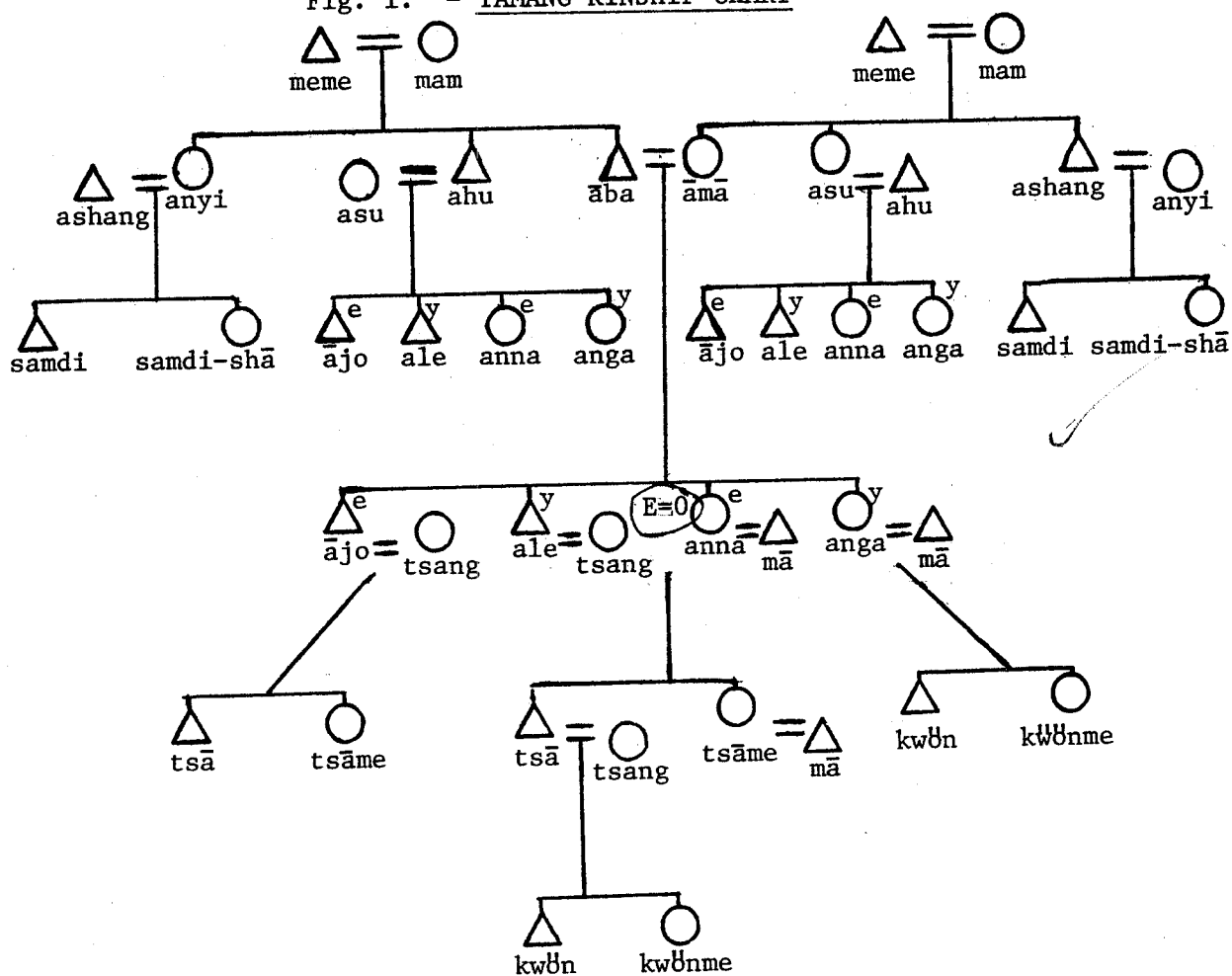
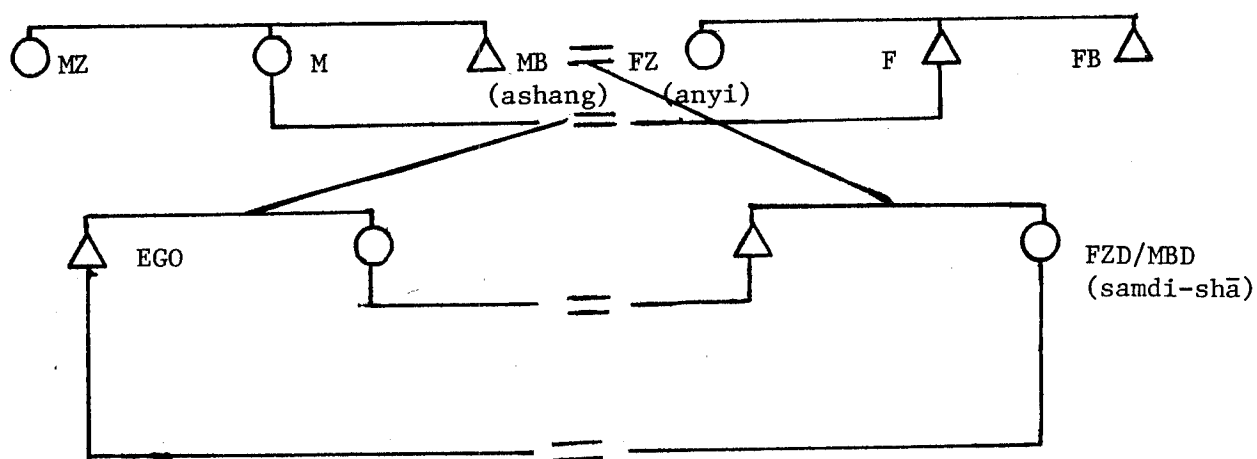


Fig. 2. - CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE



seen though, there are certainly more - between 350 and 400. Unfortunately he does not make it clear what he understands by the term 'Bhotiya' although this is generally accepted as referring to 'Mongoloid, Tibeto-Burman and culturally distinct people of the higher Himalayaa' (cf. Manzardo, Dahal & Rai, 1976: 83), the term 'Bhote' or the neologism 'Tibetanoid' referring to Tibetan speakers of specifically Tibetan descent living in Nepal (cf. Goldstein, 1975: 69). However, Frank, in specifically separating them from the other Tibeto-Burman groups which he deals with, gives one to understand that in fact he intends the latter term, or meaning. Now, it is undoubtedly the case that the Langtang people are true Tibetan speakers. Tamang on the other hand is a Tibeto-Burman language with large numbers of loan words from both Tibetan and Nepali (which is spoken as a second language) but not mutually intelligible to Tibetans. By contrast Langtang speech shows a 75% correspondence in vocabulary for the Swadesh 100-word list with Kyirong Tibetan and is mutually intelligible although spoken more quickly.

However, when it comes to kinship behaviour the Langtang people clearly follow the Tamang pattern. They are divided into a number of clans of which the following names were recorded: Shangba, Dongba, Lopcen, Nakpa, Chusang and Waiba. Some of these it will be seen are the same as Tamang clan-names in the lower valley and they are accepted by others as being Tamang. All informants were agreed that there were no Sherpas amongst them and according to tradition they are supposed to have emigrated from the Kyirong area of Tibet 3 or 4 generations ago. As amongst the Tamangs polygyny is practised but polyandry forbidden. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred and parallel-cousin marriage forbidden. A glance at the kinship terminology bears this out: although the terms themselves approximate to Tibetan terms, the pattern is of standard bilateral cross-cousin type, FB's children and MZ's children being referred to by the terms for brother and sister, separate terms being reserved for the cross-cousins. (see Fig. 3).

Thus it would appear that Langtang people represent another of those rare cases, like the Helambu Sherpas (Goldstein, op. cit.), of bilateral cross-cousin marriage amongst a Tibetan speaking population. It still remains unclear as to how such a situation has arisen. It can only be guessed that they either brought these marriage customs with them from Tibet or that their kinship behaviour has undergone conscious and far-reaching changes during a relatively short period. It is of course not unknown for Tibetan groups to adopt Nepalese names in a bid to improve their status vis-a-vis the dominant groups but rare indeed that a whole clan-system and new marriage patterns are taken over. It could perhaps be surmized that their isolated location with few opportunities for inter-marriage with other groups made the Tibetan system of exogamous kindreds unworkable with such a small population impelling them to adopt the Tamang model. But until further work can be done amongst this group it remains an open question.

Fig. 3. LANGTANG

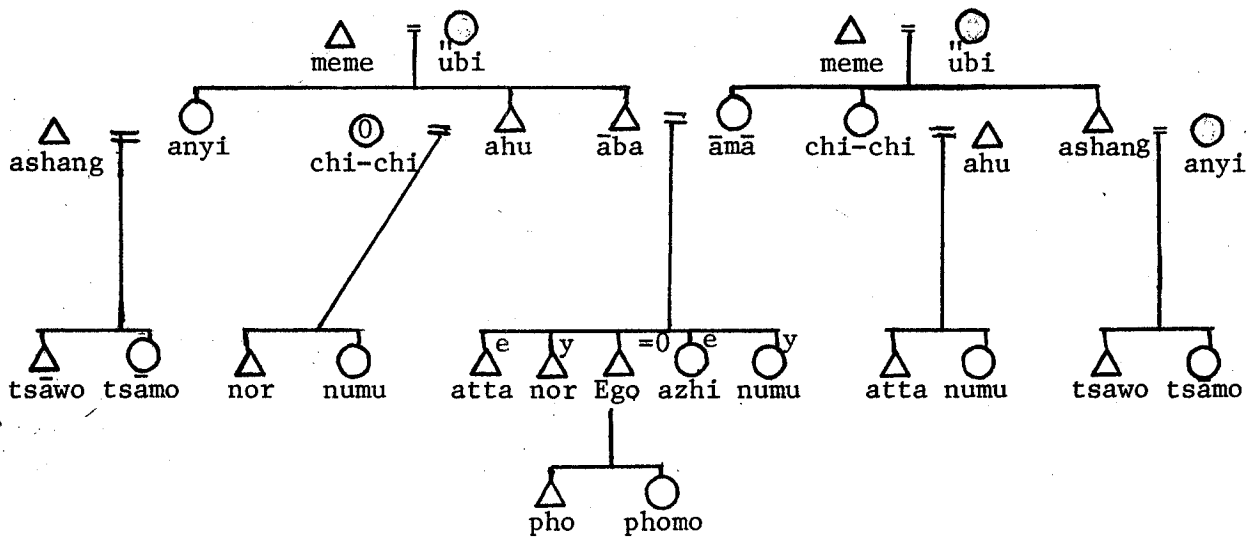
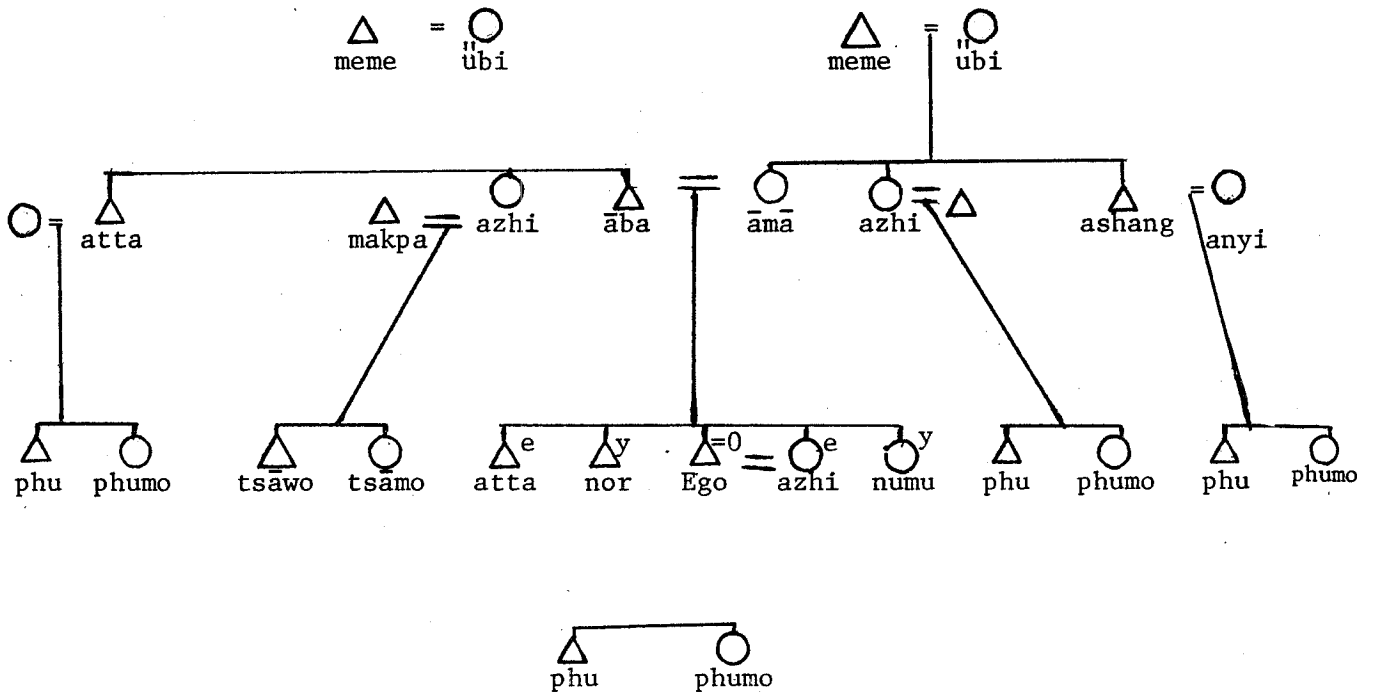


Fig. 4. KYIRONG



Religious Life

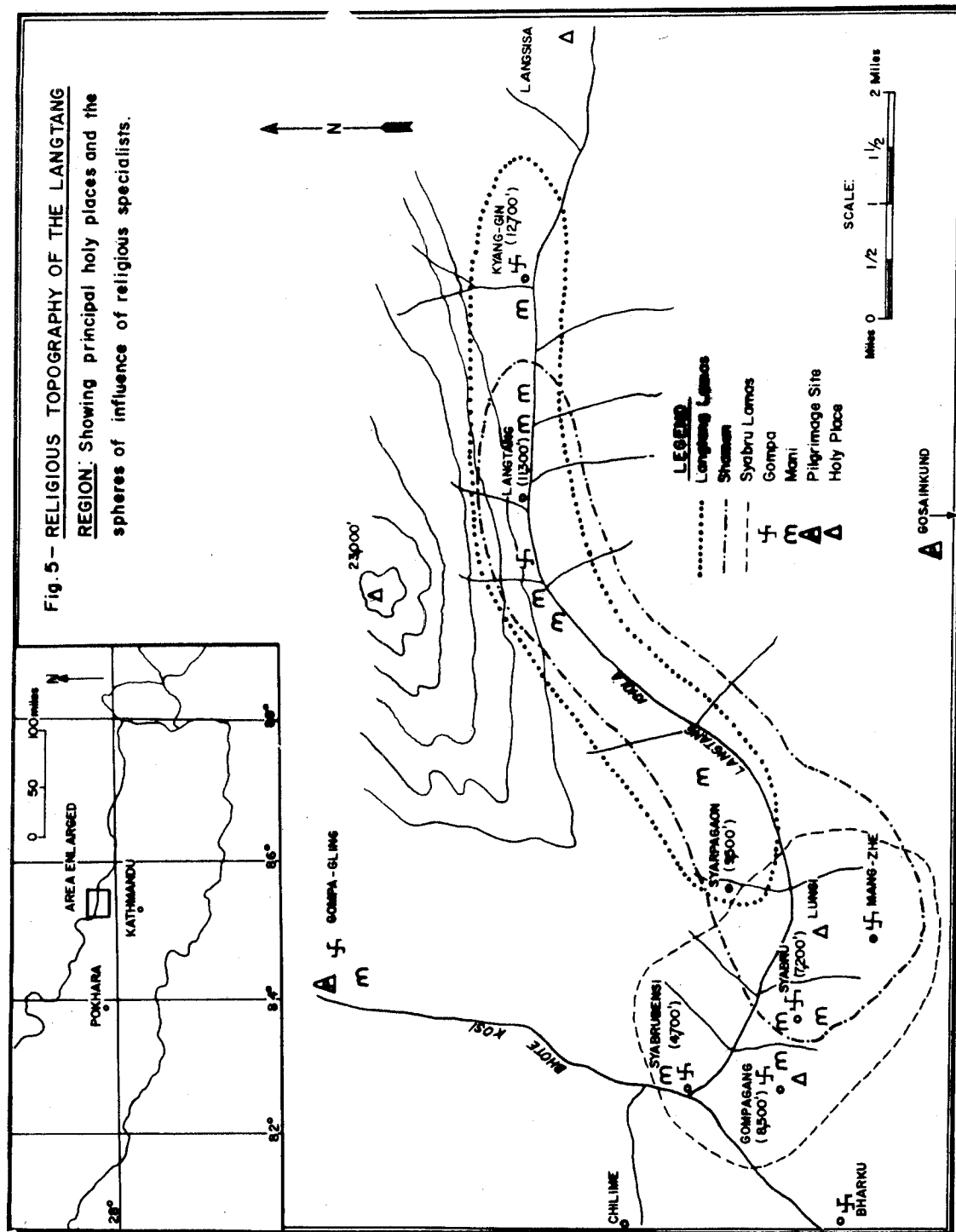
Religious life is not for the people of the Langtang region conceptually separable from any other sort of life for their houses, fields and countryside are suffused with the supernatural at every turn. When illness strikes, crops fail or wild animals raid the fields it is taken for granted that malignant demons and spirits are responsible and periodically rites to protect the home and village must be undertaken. But for present purposes it may be considered as a complex blend of Tibetan Buddhism and shamanism together with elements of Hinduism. Of these the former is undoubtedly predominant, but although practised by all three groups in the area each maintains its rituals separate from the others and conducts them in slightly differing ways. Only a broad outline of the main features can be given here.

In addition to the profusion of earth spirits and deities inhabiting trees, rocks and streams the countryside and the villages themselves are filled with the physical manifestations and symbols of Buddhism. These include various natural features such as strangely shaped or coloured rocks which are associated in legend with the activities of Guru Rinpoche (Padmasambhāva) the principal Buddhist deity; physical structures such as 'māni-walls' and Chöstens - either those supposedly built by the Guru himself, or those erected to commemorate the dead which line the approaches to every village; water-driven prayer wheels situated over streams and the prayer flags which flutter from the roof of every house (dar-chö); and the gompas (tib. dgon-pa) found in principal villages and in various isolated places in the countryside. These monasteries are generally uninhabited buildings in which are housed an altar, statues and paintings (thangka) and various items of ritual paraphernalia such as drums, butter lamps and offering bowls together with such books as the monastery owns. Generally the building is kept locked, being opened by the kon-ye (sacristan) only on the occasion of a religious ceremony. Their quality varies considerably from the highly ornate and elaborate, such as Langtang gompa to the generally shabby and run-down. Some have received government grants in recent years in order to carry out repairs and renovations. What may be called the religious topography of the region - the principal holy places, pilgrimage sites and religious structures - are represented in Fig. 5. In addition to its prayer flag every household maintains an altar - an elaborately carved wooden cabinet which houses pictures of Buddhist deities and the Dalai Lama, 7 offering bowls filled with clean water and offerings of maize and grain.

The main religious specialists in the village are the lamas (tib. bla-ma), members of the Nyingma-pa ('the old one') sect. In general this is a hereditary position passed from father to son for in addition to their religious functions the lamas are married householders with fields and property of their own. Amongst the Tamangs almost all lamas are members of the Karmapa clan (because it is said, one of their ancestors was in fact a Karmapa lama). Although all sons are trained to be lamas only those who have a certain religious vocation participate in the majority of ceremonies, the others merely assisting with reading, chanting or

playing musical instruments at large festivals. Lamas are of high status and treated with considerable respect by the villagers. Their most marked behavioural restriction is the prohibition on smoking which is observed by all; they should also refrain from drinking, eating meat, adultery and generally set a high standard of behaviour although this is not always the case. Inevitably lamas from outside any particular village are held in higher esteem than indigenous ones: people one has grown up with and whose foibles are intimately known command less respect than those from further away who retain a certain aura of mystery and power. Tamang lamas are never employed by Tibetans who have their own emigre lamas from Tibet nor by Langtang people who are self-sufficient in lamas. However, there are a few Tibetan lamas who have taken over formerly dis-used gompas in the area and these are also employed by Tamangs particularly to help in conducting the death ceremonies. In addition to their ordinary income from their own property, lamas are paid Rs. 5 or 6 per day for their services and given all meals during the course of a ceremony. In the month of Mangsir, they undertake the traditional begging for alms incumbent on all Buddhist monks, and known as the me-tog, calling on every household which on a makeshift altar offers plates of grain and serves raksi; the lamas bless each house as they go. Only the most senior lamas are eligible to share in this collection and what they receive is determined partly by how good the harvest has been and partly by the esteem in which they are held. Thus one particularly powerful magician-lama collected 65 pathis of grain in Syabru village while the four eligible local lamas only raised 35 pathis between them - no more than a token addition to their yearly food consumption.

The lamas' main duties are connected with the complex death ceremonies which last for 49 days, during which period their task is to see that the spirit of the dead person is kept on the right path to avoid incarceration in one of the many hells and ultimately to reach the heaven of O'pa'me whence he has a chance for favourable re-birth. Elaborate ceremonies are conducted at the time of the death, at the immediately following cremation, and to expel the death-demon from the house. Thereafter, they must return every 7 days to continue with their readings and to oversee the feeding of the dead man's spirit. Finally on the 49th day the spirit is given its final send-off at the gyewa, a two or three day festival during which the gompa is lavishly decorated with dough images (gtor-ma) and butter-lamps, the spirit is fed for the final time and friends and relatives from miles around come to pay their respects and to feast and drink. This ceremony has reached its greatest heights amongst the Tamangs who expect to spend from Rs. 2000 upwards on the gyewa, an expenditure which if repeated several times in short succession (for a man is responsible for his two parents, his wife and children if they predecease him) can quickly turn a rich family into a poor one. Amongst the Tibetans and the Langtang people, although the pattern is the same, the festivities are on a much less lavish scale.



In addition to the death-rites the lamas may also be called in times of sickness to individual households to conduct day-long readings from the holy books, to blow mantras (tam. cyeng-ah) to protect the inhabitants of the house, and to offer up serkim (tib. gSer-kyems) - grain beer and juniper smoke - to the gods. They may also erect new prayer flags outside a house to earn the occupants merit and protect them. Some lamas have the reputation as particularly powerful magicians who can compel rain, protect crops or rid the countryside of pests or predators such as bears and wild pigs (N - banel). When people are sorely troubled by the latter they will approach the lama in question with gifts and seek to convince him of the justice of their case; if he agrees to undertake it for them and it will involve the killing or harming of other living creatures they will be requested to make many offerings and burn many lamps in the gompa to atone for the sin involved. Other lamas, particularly those resident in Langtang valley have a more scholarly reputation and leave magic to other practitioners, preferring to immerse themselves in their books or to undertake long periods of solitary meditation (tsam).

As well as these individual rites the lamas officiate at a number of calendrical ceremonies commemorating significant events in Buddhist religious history. These are timed according to the Tibetan calendar (beginning in mid-February). They vary slightly from place to place (see Table 1) but mostly follow a similar pattern: the lamas are responsible for constructing and decorating the tormas and for preparing the altar in the gompa. To a musical accompaniment of drums, bells, cymbals, horns and conch shell they read and chant from the appropriate books usually with only a small audience. This done there is generally a large feast afterwards for the whole village, the food being provided by a number of jindars (sponsors). Rice tormas are also made and once blessed are distributed to every member of the village as prasād (tse-tup).

The other principal religious specialists in the region, apart from the lamas are the local shamans (N - jhānkri; tam. - bombo). The people are plagued with a number of evil spirits as well as by the spirits of men who have died (shin-de). There are also a number of named witches (sön-de), always women, whose glance, touch, or presence is liable to bring illness and the same result is expected of the malicious envy or gossip of neighbours. All these cases fall under the provenance of the bombos who are, however, much less numerous than the lamas. Like them they are often members of the Karmapa clan and although it need not be, the position is often hereditary. For the most straightforward rites it is not necessary that the bombo become possessed, his role in this case being more that of the diviner. When major trouble strikes, however, lengthy rites are conducted in which the bombo constructs tormas although of a different significance from those of the lamas, offers serkim to his familiar spirits and invokes their protection and goes into a trance to learn the causes of the problem and the wishes of the gods.

Often these will involve further protection rites and the sacrifice of a cock or, very rarely, a goat.

Many of the present bombos are very old and there seem to be few new recruits to the profession. There is no bombo at all in the upper Langtang valley, the Syabru bombo visiting occasionally to minister to their needs. The bombos seem in general to be overshadowed by the lamas and for this a number of reasons can be deduced. Most importantly there are few situations which are solely the preserve of the shaman for in many cases of illness it is equally possible to employ lamas. Moreover, the orthodoxy of Buddhism with its sacred scriptures and long tradition carries more weight and prestige. The financial incentives of shamanism are also less attractive for although the rewards may be great in the case of a successful cure in a particularly difficult case, the shaman cannot rely on any regular round of festivals to maintain his income, nor does he receive alms like the lamas. Whereas most Buddhist rites in any case require the services of several lamas, the bo always operates alone, easily covering the requirements of several lured households. Although there would seem to be a spiritual divide between the shaman who must propitiate his bloodthirsty gods with animal sacrifices, and the lamas who have the malevolent demons firmly under their thumb as guardians of the doctrine, in actual fact relations between the two types of specialist seem cordial and the boundaries between them sometimes become blurred. Thus in some rites the bombo may even be found assisting the lamas and in old age some turn away from shamanism to the study of lamas. Each seems to respect the other as a powerful practitioner in his own right although the methodology is different.

Finally, there are those household ceremonies which do not require the services of any specialist. These are found exclusively amongst the Tamangs and, besides the worship of the clan deities (ke-lha) at the full-moon of Baisākh already mentioned, several Hindu festivals are also observed. These include Dasain, a time for feasting and drinking and the slaughter of animals - to which the lamas turn a blind eye, holding their own fast a few days later to atone for the sins committed at this time - Tihar, again a time for special foods, much gambling and the giving of gifts to sisters in exchange for the placing of tika marks on the forehead, and the two Sankrantis which celebrate the winter and summer solstices, ensure good harvests and expel ghosts and witches.

Table 1
Calendar of Festivals

Month :	Festival :	Description
Baisākh (April-May)	Ki-lha	Ancestor worship of the clan divinities. Tamangs only.
Jeth (May-June)	<u>Nyung-gnas</u> 15th of the 4th month	A day of silence and fasting by the lamas and lay people at Mang-zhe Compa.
Asār (July-August)	Dalai Lama's birthday 20th of 5th month	Tibetans only. Three days of prayers for His Holiness, feasting and dancing.
Sāun (July-August)	Sāune <u>Sankranti</u>	On the 1st of the month, special food is prepared and eaten, offerings to the spirits and expulsion of demons. Tamangs only.
	<u>Tukpa tse-zhi</u> 4th of the 6th month	Tibetans undertake pilgrimage for 3 days to Gompaling with feasting and dancing. Tamangs hold small ceremony.
Bhadāu (August-September)	<u>Ekadasi</u>	Day of fasting, Hindu pilgrims begin arriving Gosainkund pilgrimage.
	<u>Janāi Purnimā</u>	Tamangs only, led by their shamans, make 3-day pilgrimage to the holy lake.
Asoj (September-October)	<u>Dasain</u>	3 days holiday, special food prepared and eaten, goats slaughtered, visits to neighbours. Tamangs only.
Kartik (October-November)	<u>Nyung-gnas</u> 9th of 9th month	All Buddhists. Day of fasting and silence, followed by religious cremonies and feast. Held at different <u>gompas</u> annually.
	<u>Lhababs duschen</u> 22nd of 9th month	All Buddhists. Festival of the descent from heaven.
	<u>Tihar</u>	3 days holiday. On the 1st dogs are garlanded, on the 2nd cows. Special food, <u>puris</u> etc. eaten on the 3rd. Perfunctory worship of goddess Lakshmi, sisters garland brothers and place <u>tikas</u> receiving gifts in exchange.
Mangsir (November-December)	<u>Hyu m</u>	Tamang, Lamas read the sacred books only, for 5 days, culminating in village protection rite and masked dancing.
Māgh (January-February)	Maghe <u>Sankranti</u>	-
Phāgun (Feb.-March)	<u>Lo-gsar</u> 1st of 1st month	All Buddhists. Tibetan New Year celebrated for 15 days with feasting, dancing, singing.

Conclusion

Although much further work remains to be done we have seen in this brief survey of the Langtang region that, although the different population groupings living there share much in terms of a common economy, mutually intelligible languages and a common religious tradition, relations between them, while cordial, are never intimate. Each holds itself aloof preferring to maintain their own ceremonies with their own religious specialists, avoiding intermarriage or close economic ties. Of the three, the Tibetans are the most outward-looking by force of circumstance, realizing their need to create new economic opportunities and fully endorsing the value of modern education. The Tamangs have been most affected by the influence of Hinduism and while there seems no likelihood that Buddhism will decline in the foreseeable future they accept their place in the multi-ethnic mosaic of Nepal. Education and innovation, still regarded with suspicion by some, is being increasingly endorsed by the younger generations and it cannot be long before their effects make themselves felt.

References

- Alirol, P. 1976. The peoples of the upper Ankhu Khola Valley. In Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 3, No. 1, January 1976, pp. 34-46.
- Forbes, D. 1977. The Heart of Nepal, New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann.
- Frank, W.A. 1974a. Attempt at an ethno-demography of middle Nepal. In C. von Furer-Haimendorf (ed.) - Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal, Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- 1974b, Ethnische Grundlagen der Siedlungs-Struktur in Mittelnepal unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tamang, Innsbruck-München: Universitätsverlag Wagner.
- Furer-Haimendorf, C. von. 1956. Ethnographic notes on the Tamangs of Nepal. In Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. IX. No. 3.
- Hofer, A. 1969. Preliminary Report on a Field Research Among a Western Tamang Group, Nepal, Vienna: Bulletin No. 11, International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research.
- Goldstein, M.C. 1975. Preliminary notes on marriage and kinship. In Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, February 1975, pp. 57-69.
- Manzardo, A.E., Dahal, D.R. & Rai, N.K. 1976. The Byanshi: an ethnographic note on a trading group in Far Western Nepal. In Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, September 1976, pp. 84-118.
- Tilman, H.W. 1952. Nepal Himalaya, Cambridge: University Press.

first annual progress report on nepal's small farmers' project

Mr. G.C. Clark
Miss M.M. Crowley
Dr. B.N. de los Reyes*

1. Background to the Project

In order to determine the problems of the small farmers (those who own less than 1.5 hectares in the Terai and 0.5 hectares in the Hills), HMG, Nepal sponsored in cooperation with FAO/UNDP a workshop on "Development Support for Small Farmers" from 4-13 January 1974. There were two field workshops, each concentrated on the problems of the small farmers in a specific area, and a round-up session which took up the results of the field workshops and their broader implications. The field workshop for the Dhanusha District (in the Terai) was held in Janakpur while the workshop for the Nuwakot District (the Hills) and the round-up session were held in Kathmandu.

This multi-disciplinary and multi-level workshop was attended by people from the different agencies involved in small farmer development and from all levels of the organization including the field workers and small farmers and landless labourers. Through the papers presented during the plenary sessions, the work-group discussions and farmer consultations in the field, the problems of the small farmers and landless labourers were identified and recommendations were made for their solution.

Similar to the Nepal workshop, five other countries held field workshops on small farmer problems. The findings and recommendations of all the field workshops were considered at a Regional Follow-up Seminar held in Bangkok in August, 1974. The seminar formulated a broad strategy based on a number of activities considered essential for programmes for small farmer development. At the same time, the delegates from Nepal together with FAO/ASARRD members and observers from international organizations prepared an indicative outline for follow-up Field Action Projects in the (1) Dhanusha and (2) Nuwakot Districts. Based on this plus subsequent discussions with officials of the Agriculture Ministry and the Agricultural Development Bank of Nepal, the present Field Action Project (FAP) was developed and initiated from November, 1975.

2. Aims and Objectives of Field Action Project

The project aims at assisting 6,000 families of the low-income small farmers, tenants, share-croppers and landless agricultural labourers in the Dhanusha and Nuwakot Districts to raise their incomes and general level of living over a period of three years. This target group is being helped to organize themselves into small (15 to 20 members) homogeneous, multi-functional groups around a common nucleus, income-raising activity

* Small Farmers Development Unit, FAO Regional Office for Asia and Far East Bangkok, Thailand.

based on group work plans and group action at the grass-roots level supported by an integrated programme of supervised credit. These informal groups, organized below the level of the coopeatives, may form themselves into associations for the provision of common services and to take better advantage of facilities available under various on-going and future programmes and projects.

The project also aims at initiating action-based research by assigning two Group Organizers/Action Research Fellows (GO/ARF's) to each sub-project area. Their task is to help in organizing the participants into the groups, assisting them in preparing their group production plans on the one hand, and conducting surveys, studies and concurrent evaluation for research purposes, on the other. This action-research will hopefully throw light upon the practicability and nature of grass-roots institutions, the procedures and regulations regarding lending and repayment of loans to low-income small farmers and landless agricultural labourers, the feasibility of local needs-based and convergent programming as different from divergent departmental programming and the gaps in the implementation of tenurial reforms related to tenants and share-croppers. It was intended that the research work would be guided by a qualified researcher, preferably from a university which would agree to accept it as part of its requirements towards an advanced degree for each qualified GO/ARF.

In short, the project aims at helping this sector of rural society to develop its own "receiving/utilizing mechanism" in order to take advantage of the facilities and services presently being provided by the "delivery mechanism" of existing nation building departments and agencies which now are going largely to the bigger and more influential farmers and landowners.

3. Project Activities

Against an initial target of 1,000 families for the first year, the four Group Organizers/Action Research Fellows have been able to assist 651 families of the target group to organize themselves into 50 Small Farmer and Peasant Production (SFPP) Groups (27 groups with a membership of 218 in Dhanusha and 23 groups in Nuwakot with a membership of 427 families). Credit totalling Rs. 875,000 has been extended to group members against joint liability for the following different types of nucleus income-raising activities:

- Milch buffalo rearing
- Draft bullocks
- Calves for rearing
- Sheep production
- Goat production
- Pig production
- Male buffalo for breeding
- Carts and oxen for transportation
- Paddy cultivation
- Wheat cultivation

Tobacco cultivation
Maize cultivation
Fruit tree plantation
Fish pond farming
Well digging.

All groups have introduced a monthly savings programme for members in order to establish an emergency cum development fund for group use.

4. Evaluation Methodology Used

The special character of a Field Action Project necessitated a distinctive type of evaluation. An FAP is essentially an attempt on the part of the participating small farmers and peasants who are disadvantaged in many ways, to build their own "receiving system" at the grass-roots. This is considered essential for small farmers so that they may seek, obtain, plan and utilize the various facilities for development that are provided by the delivery system, departments and other agencies including cooperatives, village and local self-government bodies. Simultaneously, an FAP seeks to make some adjustments and improvements in the "delivery system" to suit the requirements of the disadvantaged small farmers and peasants.

A Field Action Project should operate through an interaction between the two systems, and not through a top-stimulated functioning of improved activities along the vertical line down to the beneficiaries. Evaluation of the interaction of the two system if done only by an outsider could run the risk of becoming a kind of comparison between the performances of the two. But actually the project is a mutually dependent functioning of two systems, one of which is in the process of being built. A joint evaluation by those developing the two systems was, therefore, considered to be more fruitful because in place of a comparative judgement on performances, there would be a search for better cooperation between the two systems for future improvement.

An evaluation through Field Workshops is, therefore, based upon the principle that an FAP for small farmers and peasants will gain by self-evaluation near the scene of action when done jointly by the (1) beneficiaries and group organizers on the one hand, and (2) field personnel from the delivery system along with the planners on the other. Such joint assessment should lead directly to quick follow-up action by the concerned parties as they are not just "objects" of evaluation, but "subjective partners" in it.

The Nepal Evaluation Workshops had five objectives:

1. To see if the income, productive capacity, status and living condition of the low-income disadvantaged small farmers and peasants have actually improved.

2. To assess the progress and problems of the SFPP groups and associations (if any) as an active receiving/utilizing mechanism for this sector of society.

3. To assess the response of the delivery mechanism (banks, cooperatives, input supplies, extension personnel, land reform and registration officials, marketing units and the general administration) and the reaction of the other elements of the rural community.

4. To assess the progress of the Group Organizers/Action Research Fellows in group formation, promoting group self-study and in doing action based research.

5. To identify points in the existing design which may require modification or adjustment to changing situation.

To achieve these objectives a cross section of persons involved in the project from national, regional, district and village levels came together for five days at each of the sub-project sites - 21 to 25 March in Janakpur, Dhanusha District and 27 to 31 March in Trisuli, Nuwakot District. Three FAO Regional Officers from the FAO Regional Office in Bangkok participated throughout. They were Miss M.M. Crowley, Regional Home Economics and Social Programmes Officer, Dr. B.N. de los Reyes, Small Farm Management Officer and Mr. G.C. Clark, Regional Rural Institutions Officer for Agricultural Education, Extension and Rural Youth and Coordinator, Small Farmers Development Unit.

The evaluation exercise was based on reports prepared by each SFPP group leader, by the GO/ARF's and from officials at national level. Participants went to the villages for two days for discussions with individual group members in their homes and on their fields and with group members collectively. Achievements and problems were identified as seen from both the side of the small farmer members and from the side of the government workers. Solutions were discussed and mutually agreed upon for short and long term action. Thus, it became a review of past achievement and problems and a programme planning exercise for the next year.

5. Achievements

The achievements of the two sub-projects, as identified by both the government workers and the group members may be summarized as follows:

(b) Impact on Target Group

The average family income of the 651 group members in the 50 SFPP groups has been increased by about RS. 450 per year. The habit of savings has been actively encouraged with 55 (or 25%) of the 224 members in the Dhanusha area opening personal savings accounts in their local cooperative while the 427 members in the Nuwakot groups have deposited nearly Rs.10,000 with the group emergency funds (average Rs. 23/member). The fund is being used to help individual members with medical or social expenses such as

weddings and funerals in an attempt to reduce their dependence upon the village money lenders for such emergencies. The position of the money lender is being threatened.

Credit totalling Rs. 874,000 (approx. US \$73,000) has been approved to the groups under group liability. Repayment has been on or ahead of schedule in many instances. Even tenants, if they are members of a group, can now receive institutional credit. Employment opportunities for family members have increased.

(b) Impact on "Receiving Mechanism"

The groups, although still far from perfect, are starting to function as a receiving/utilising mechanism for the small farmers and tenants. (not yet for the landless agricultural labourers due to the past loaning policy of the Agricultural Development Bank). The cooperation between group members and in a few instances even between groups, has greatly increased in such activities as work of bullock sharing, land preparation, threshing, teaching literacy, use of water, construction of irrigation channels and support of members in tenancy rights disputes. Members are being included in regular farmer training courses previously only attended by the bigger and more progressive farmers. The groups are bringing pressure from below for the services of various line departments. Adult education personnel have organised three special functional literacy classes for illiterate group members. Group learning through directed group discussion is starting. Fertiliser use amongst members has increased by 25% while in the Nuwakot area over 50% of the members have started compost pits. Near 400 animals have received proper vaccinations and members have received 1,356 fruit trees seedlings, 2,000 fish fingerlings and 350 improved fertile eggs for hatching purposes. Membership in the local cooperative in Nuwakot increased from 43 members to 538 and share capital from Rs. 605 to Rs. 12,027.

On the social side several members have started improving their roofing and drinking water supply. In the Nuwakot area 75% of the families belonging to SFPP groups have constructed simple latrines. Requests for family planning information is increasing and 39 members have undergone vasectomy operations. Village leadership is being identified and developed as members from 12 of the 23 groups in Nuwakot have been elected from their wards to their village panchayats. (3 members per ward - 9 wards per panchayat). Government and civic leaders alike at district level are giving high praise to the project and requesting its expansion to many other areas. Similar requests are being made by villages lying outside the present sub-project areas.

(c) Response of "Delivery Mechanism" of Government Departments

The major achievement has been the response of the Agricultural Development Bank of Nepal to the credit requirements of the small farmers and tenants (to some extent) in the two sub-project areas. The Dept. of Veterinary Services has also responded but to a much lesser extent so far.

In the words of one of the group leader, "the project is like a full-moon in a dark night."

6. Problems Identified and Suggestions for Follow up

The following is a summary of the problems identified and follow up action required from different line departments. Where necessary, follow-up action by FAO and other UN agencies is also indicated.

1. Group Organization

The organization of groups of small farmers requires the identification of farmers who are of similar status, interest and are willing to work together in undertaking some 'nucleus' activities. Identification was through a household survey schedule designed for the purpose. In many instances, however, the household survey was done after the groups had been organized. As a result, some farmers who have limited land but whose total income (including those from outside sources) are very much higher than the average are included. There are also some groups who do not have a common activity and they are operating either as sub-groups or as individuals. Some join primarily to get credit and are not interested in group action.

One of the objectives of this project is that through group formation and action, the quality of life of small farmers and landless labourers would be improved. This implies that the women of such families must become equally involved in group action and decision making. Although in certain areas and in specific activities the women are involved, there are as yet many barriers within the social system of their communities which prevent their greater participation in such group programmes. It is hoped that in time the group will recognize the need to involve their women either as sub-groups or separate groups in order to help the total family achieve self-reliance and full development.

Some of the groups are dominated by the group leaders. They do not seek the views of some members before making a decision. There is no distribution of responsibility among the members. The group leaders do all the work and some complain that they are overworked.

There are members who are not fully aware of their responsibilities to the group. Some sell their animals or holdings, for which they had received the loan, without seeking the advice or approval of the group.

Follow up: There is a need to conduct the household survey before any other groups are organized. Training programmes and inter-group visits will make the group leaders and members aware of their duties and responsibilities. They can also observe how other groups are working. Each member, to the extent possible, should be given a responsibility to perform on behalf of his group. Proper training should be provided to them to effectively discharge their responsibilities. Leadership may also be rotated among the members.

External Assistance: FAO can provide grant assistance, such as under TOP, to conduct the training programmes and inter-visitations discussed below. It can also provide technical assistance during the training programmes on various subject matter areas.

2. Livestock Production

One of the principle means for the small farmers and landless labourers to increase their income is through livestock for draught purposes, fattening, including meat and wool production from sheep and goats. However, they meet difficulties because of diseases that affect the animals and veterinary (preventive and curative) services are limited. The problem is acute in the Nuwakot area where farmers have to walk as much as four hours through rugged terrain to get the services of the veterinarian. In the Hills, the Panchayats in the neighbouring districts where the groups graze their goats and sheep requires each member to pay a grazing fee of one animal per year per man irrespective of herd size. Cattle rustling is also becoming a problem in the Terai.

Follow up: A Veterinary Dispensary should be established in a strategic place in the project areas. A veterinary supervisor and a veterinary assistant should be assigned in Nuwakot and Dhanusa, respectively. Animals secured from loans from the Bank should not be released to the farmers unless they are properly vaccinated.

One member of each group should be assigned to act on behalf of the group in matters of management of cattle and pest and disease prevention and control. They should receive training to be organized by the Veterinary Department. There is also a need to provide each trainee with a first aid kit for their use upon their return to the village. The Sajha (cooperative) should maintain supplies of medicine in their stores or godowns. The Zonal Commissioner should be requested to make representation to the concerned Panchayats regarding grazing fees. The assistance of local authorities should be sought in terms of preventing cattle rustling in Dhanusa. Meanwhile, the groups should provide night watchers and improve places where animals are kept. The possibility of branding each animal should be explored.

External Assistance: FAO Regional Livestock Development Officer in cooperation with national APHCA can assist in organizing and conducting the training programmes for the farmers.

3. Milch Buffaloes and Cows

Milk production is one of the major supplementary income activities of the small farmers and landless labourers in both areas. They are also confronted with outbreaks of pests and diseases in the same way as the livestock producers. They also lack improved breeds of service bulls to upgrade their animals.

The marketing of milk and milk products pose problems because of the distance to market centers. There is no systematic system of collecting milk among the members and the processed product (ghee), especially in the Hills, provides lower returns to the producers.

Follow up: The Livestock Department where appropriate should provide artificial insemination services to the milk producers. In some instances, improved bulls could be made available to groups of farmers to meet their needs. The groups could purchase the animals out of loans drawn as a group from the Bank.

The groups should designate one or two members to collect the milk and who should be responsible for its marketing. Appropriate training programmes should be organized for them. The Dairy Development Corporation should be requested to establish a milk collection centre in each of the project areas. Some processing facilities could also be established to provide employment for the landless in the area.

External Assistance: FAO Regional Dairy Development Officer may visit the project areas and discuss with the Dairy Development Corporation the possibility of establishing a Milk Collection Centre in each of the project areas. He can also assist in organizing and conducting the training programme for the members who have been designated to act on behalf of the groups regarding dairy production.

4. Inputs

Rice and wheat are two important cereal crops in Dhanusa. Farmers are having difficulty in securing seeds of improved varieties and they are very expensive. In Nuwakot, farmers are having difficulty in securing production inputs such as seeds, fertilizers and pesticides during the rainy season when it is not possible to cross the river Salakhu.

Follow up: The cooperatives should store sufficient quantities of seeds in their godowns and farmers should be trained in the proper storage of seeds. A cooperative depot should be established at a convenient place across the river Salakhu where production inputs can be stored before the rainy season.

Follow up Assistance: The FAO Regional Agronomist and Plant Protection Officer may discuss and assist government in training these low-income farmers on proper seed selection and storage, plus use of fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides.

5. Irrigation

Water for irrigating the fields and kitchen gardens is lacking. There are known sources of water in the Hills but farmers face the problem of conveying the water over long distances sometimes passing through different villages.

Follow up: The Irrigation Department should conduct a feasibility study of using the known sources of water in the Hills for irrigation. It should also help prepare plans and designs for minor irrigation in Dhanusa. Farmers should also be provided with funds to dig the irrigation canals and possibly line them with cement. Farmers can contribute their labour.

External Support: FAO Regional Soil and Water Management Officer may explore the possibility of including soil and water management as part of the training for group members responsible for paddy and wheat production.

6. Extension

The members of the groups of small farmers complain of insufficient technical services for various aspects of crop production and use of inputs.

Follow up: JT/JTA's should be assigned in each area to work with the groups of small farmers. Training should also be undertaken for designated members of the groups on various aspects of paddy and wheat cultivation and marketing. The JT/JTA should also receive in service training in various aspects of their work. For this the line agencies should be provided with necessary funds for travel and per diem.

External Assistance: The FAO Regional Officer on Extension can assist in organizing and conducting training programmes for JT/JTA's and farmers.

7. Land Problems

Tenurial matters are a serious problem among the small farmers. The tenants are unable to get tenurial rights and even permanent tenants are being deprived of their lands for cultivation through certain manipulations, i.e. receipts for rentals are not issued to the tenants. Prospective group members are unable to join due to absence of ownership transfer papers.

In the Hills, the farmers are unable to restore their farms damaged by land slide, floods and soil erosion. They are also unable to buy lands for sale because they lack capital and such lands fall into the hands of the large farmers. They cannot cultivate idle Panchayat lands near their villages.

Follow up: The Land Administrative Office should facilitate issuance of ownership certificates and the District Agriculture Office should protect the tenants from harassment by the landowners. To the extent possible, protection of the tenants should be the responsibility of one office. The farmers may also be advised that they can pay their rents through the Bank or Panchayat.

The groups should work together for rebuilding the land and construction of check dams and planting of trees and grasses to prevent soil erosion. Farmers may be provided with credit to buy lands for sale. The Panchayats should also make representation to the government to lease their lands to the farmers, where appropriate.

External Assistance: The FAO Regional Soil and Water Management and Forestry Officers may discuss and assist government in developing a programme to minimize flooding and soil erosion in the Hills. The new Regional Land Tenure Officer may encourage the Dept. of Agrarian Reform to take special action in support of the group members.

8. Credit and Cooperatives

Farmers are provided credit by the Bank for production purposes. However, loans fall due during the harvest period and farmers are forced to sell their produce immediately after harvesting at low prices. The Bank is not providing loans for consumption and liquidation of old debts to the moneylenders. Farmers continue to be indebted to the moneylenders for consumption and social obligations and interest rates are very high. Some money lenders also demand immediate settlement of old debts once the farmers join the project. There is confusion among the members regarding non-repayment of loans due to factors beyond their control.

The recent policy of the cooperative is to exempt the small farmers from paying the 3 per cent additional share capital of the loan amount. The farmers who joined the cooperative societies earlier complained that their shares have not been reimbursed. The farmers in the Hills also feel the need for a cooperative store where they can buy their necessities and sell their produce.

Follow up: Mobilization of group savings for consumption and emergency needs should be vigorously pursued. The Bank should provide credit for consumption and possibly to meet social obligations and emergencies. The terms and conditions of the loan should be fully explained to the members.

The Cooperative Officers should explain to the members the importance and the benefits that can be derived from the share capital. The groups can allocate a certain portion of their savings to operate a consumer's cooperative stores.

External Assistance: The FAO Regional Marketing, Credit and Cooperative Officer can initiate discussions on developing a programme for providing marketing loans to the small farmers and establishment of consumer cooperative stores.

9. Marketing, Processing and Storage

Farmers are forced to market their produce soon after harvest because of lack of storage at the village level. There is lack of facilities for processing of surplus tomatoes in Dhanusa, milling facilities for grains in the Hills and uniform standards for measurement. Storage losses due to rat damage is also high especially in the Hills.

Follow up: Group storage should be established in the village and a system of pledging should be instituted. The groups should be informed of standard measurements and procedures to be followed in reporting malpractices. The possibility of constructing a wind mill in one of the areas in the Hills for milling grains should be explored. Small scale tomato processing-at cooperative level should be established.

External Support: FAO Regional Agricultural Services Officer should explore with Government designing and construction of simple storage facilities and small scale tomato processing in the villages. The FAO Regional Plant Protection Officer may initiate discussions on how storage losses due to rats can be minimized.

10. Planning

Planning is done by groups but such plans are not consolidated for the guidance of the different line departments. The plans are proposed by the groups for projects to be financed by the Bank from season to season.

Follow up: The groups should be assisted in developing yearly group plans for income raising and other activities. Such plans can provide a basis for area planning.

External Support: FAO Regional Small Farm Management Officer and Development Planning Officer may assist in training ARFs and other local officials in group farm planning, budgeting and area planning.

11. Education

In the Dhanusa area, the Team was informed that illiteracy was as high as 82%. People were considered literate if they could sign their names. In this area, parents recognize the need to educate children to earn a living but found it a financial burden to send them to school. They also indicated that children were needed to help in the farm work. It was also indicated that if children were sent to school they got 'soft' and on returning home were no longer willing to plough. Nor did they seem to have the strength to do so. It was not considered necessary to send a girl to school.

Follow up: On the positive side, the ARF has requested the Education Officer to start three adult education classes where adult members could learn some literacy in relation to their work during free time late in the evening. One group indicated that a literate member of their group was willing to help others become literate. Perhaps, this idea can be expanded.

In the Nuwakot area, it has been indicated that three adult education classes will commence in the near future. It is important that these classes will be organized at a time when small farmers are free. It should also include social aspects of rural living as applicable to small farmers and landless labourers.

It was suggested that the content of literacy programmes should be based on the problems of the people in these areas and how to deal with them. The motivation to become better informed especially in relation to social problems is already there. This desire to learn will accelerate achievement provided such programmes are planned for a convenient time.

External Assistance

(1) It is suggested that UNESCO may be able to supply assistance to the National Education Officer in undertaking informal education programmes. Perhaps, special support may come from the Asian Centre of Educational Innovation for Development and its national committee.

(2) It may be possible for FAO to supply some supportive materials emphasizing some of the aspects of these social problems especially those related to planning for better family living.

12. Health

Groups in Dhanusa indicated there was no local health unit. They indicated the need for a local centre where basic services and first aid would be available and where the mothers could go for advice when the children were ill. Both Dhanusa and Nuwakot indicated the difficulty in transporting sick people to town and also their lack of knowledge on what services were available and how to use them.

Nuwakot also indicated that there was no health post in Karki Mana Kamana. Both Dhanusa and Nuwakot indicated major problems in relation to a lack of a safe supply of drinking water since most of the open wells are contaminated.

Follow up: It was suggested that each group might designate one member to undertake basic training in first aid, etc. so that some local action can be taken prior to seeking medical advice. This can be done on a somewhat similar method to that being used to train veterinary aids.

External Assistance

(1) From FAO, it was also suggested that film strips and simple aids would be useful to show the relationship between food and good health.

(2) WHO may be able to give technical assistance in the setting up of a rural health centre and also in assisting national efforts in the provision of safe drinking water.

13. Housing

Although some houses seem to be well constructed, the majority of them needed improving and some basic facilities both in Dhanusa and Nuwakot. Groups indicated that one of the first needs was to replace thatched roofs with tiles to minimize fire risks. They also indicated the needs to strengthen the structures of their homes as a preventive measure against theft of property and animals. Three farmers in the Dhanusa area indicated that they had already tiled their roofs. They did not seem to have toilet facilities in Dhanusa but 75% of the members in Nuwakot had already constructed temporary toilets. The needs for improved cooking arrangements, improved storage facilities and a convenient supply of safe drinking water were other priorities which were common to both areas.

Follow up: It was suggested that as the reluctance to allow women members to participate diminishes, that attention would be given to solving some of these major problems of improving their homes through, perhaps, additional loans or a special fund to deal with the problems of lack of sanitation and poor working conditions. When sub-groups of women are increased and they begin to earn some additional income, it is suggested that with special help from line agencies they should receive assistance in improving their homes.

External Assistance

Some aspects of housing programme may merit the consideration of ILO, UNIDO and WHO to support national efforts in ensuring both finance, technical inputs and know-how to improve specific aspects of the home and its environment. This could be an integrated approach to providing minimal housing requirements in keeping with environment and customs of this sector of the rural people.

14. Family Planning

Groups in both Dhanusha and Nuwakot have already heard of the family planning activities. Through the encouragement of the ARF's, 17 members in the Dhanusa area and 22 in Nuwakot already have vasectomy operations. Dhanusa indicated that the family planning mobile unit had conducted a camp in their area, but there is need to ensure that supplies are kept available within the rural areas. There was objection by some of the male members to women taking pills since pills were only associated with ill people. Group members in the Nuwakot area had seen the PRFL film

strips and were very interested in seeing other items of a similar nature. The ARF of Nuwakot has recently indicated that he has already organized 5 women sub-groups with a total of 54 members at the Karki Mana Kamana village. In addition to skill training, their programme will emphasize improved living conditions, cleanliness and sanitation.

Follow up: It was suggested that a similar programme for women could be planned for the Dhanusa area. Both areas should get assistance from the concerned agencies. It was also suggested that a supply of contraceptives might be made available through the local cooperatives.

External Assistance

(1) FAO may be able to give support in the supply of materials and some communication media which emphasize the relationship between resources and family size, and the improvement of their way of living through planning for all family needs.

(2) Regional and Headquarters support may be feasible in assisting the national UNFPA in Nepal. WHO and UNICEF may also consider some support through this programme especially in relation to health services and improved mother and child health care.

15. Social Problems

Some of the major social problems encountered are as follows:

Farmers seem to know very little about the services which are available to them. There is need for legal protection in relation to tenancy rights. There seem to be a lot of unnecessary expenditures for marriages and festivals which the small farmers cannot meet except through a loan from the money lenders where the interest rates are frequently 65%. Sometimes these loans are repaid in kind, again leaving the farmers in a precarious position. Nuwakot mentioned that this was a serious problem in their area. It was also mentioned that at times a farmer may have to mortgage his small piece of land in order to get the dowry for his daughter's marriage. In this area, there also seems to be the problem of convincing the Brahmins that they too may till their lands with their own hands. The problem of too much dependence on group leaders was indicated in Dhanusa. There was also a problem of harassment of the group leaders by outsiders because of their new leadership role. The establishment of a local saving system so that in an emergency case this fund could be utilized was another positive action of group members.

Follow up: It was suggested that each group should have a second income-raising activity so that in the case of loss by death of an animal there would be an alternative income source. Both areas also suggested that there should be more flexibility in relation to bank loans. In order to avoid embarrassment of members in dealing with such social problems as how to behave at festivals and other ceremonies, this type of information should form the content of informal education and functional literacy programmes.

External Assistance

(1) UNESCO Asian Centre of Educational Innovation for Development (ACEID) may be in a position to support national efforts in dealing with some of the above-mentioned problems.

(2) FAO may be able to give some support to national efforts through assisting them in planning basic visual teaching materials related to the problems of these groups.

16. Income-earning Skills for Women

In the Dhanusa area, of the 218 members in the 27 groups already organized a total of 14 are women. A total of 55 members in the Dhanusa area have opened saving accounts. In Nuwakot, the sub-groups of women referred to under family planning will now begin to earn some income. The nucleus activities planned for the women is weaving and the production of woollen and cotton carpets which may be sold through the Woollen and Cotton Cooperative Society Ltd. This programme will also include information on sanitation, cleanliness, and improvement of home conditions.

Follow up: It was suggested that as women gained courage and experience within their groups that in time some of the above-mentioned social problems would be lessened. Because of social restrictions, very few women work outside the homes. The provision of training should therefore be given to women in their homes and by woman workers.

External Assistance

ILO may be able to provide additional support to national efforts by supplying equipment, training and standardization of cottage goods produced so that they will be marketable quality. FAO may be able to support national efforts to help carry out such training within the home situations, through assistance to local group leaders under a TCP project.

7. Overview and Possible Adjustments Resulting from the Evaluation

(a) General Organization of Project

The two sub-projects have met with considerable initial success. The basic principles and design of the project appear sound. However, a great deal remains to be done if the target of 6000 families is to be organized into self-generating small groups by November 1978, the end of the three year project. The project is both action and research oriented. Past experience with group formation based on supervised credit in many countries of the region has shown how easy it is to form groups but how difficult it is to keep them functioning as both viable economic and social units. In this project, the problem is further compounded by the concept of self-reliance and self-generating groups. The question still to be answered is how fast the GO/ARF's can identify and develop local leadership for each group. For this to be determined it would seem essential

that the two sub-projects retain their action cum research characteristic and that the existing GO/ARF's are permitted to conclude their experiment with no loss of career opportunities. While initial progress has been good they have a long way to go (651 families out of a target of 6000) to reach their target.

One of the major problems uncovered by the evaluation was the fact that the line departments perceive the project primarily as an ADB project and give it only very limited support. Their participation in the monthly Sub-project Implementation Committee meeting at district level is minimal while the Central Coordinating Committee at national level has yet to meet. In this situation, the GO/ARF's at field level and the National Coordinator deserve special praise for the extent of the success to date. All the Small Farmer Groups expressed interest in being serviced better by the various government departments. The district staff who participated in the evaluation exercise have been motivated to respond to the needs of the groups but ultimately they must follow the instructions from their supervisors in Kathmandu. Access to the heads of the various line departments through the Central Coordinating Committee would therefore appear of considerable importance to the ultimate success of such a project based, as it is, on a mix of top down and bottom up planning.

(a) Essential Elements of the Small Farmer Strategy

The concept of total credit appeared to be highly desirable and necessary for a high proportion of the groups members who still find themselves needing the services of the local money lenders for many of their credit needs. It is strongly recommended that advantage be taken of the research nature of these two sub-projects to test the most appropriate procedure for meeting the total credit needs of small farmer group members.

For a similar reason, the granting of credit to landless agricultural workers who have formed themselves into production oriented groups should also be initiated. This was seen to be one of the essential elements of any programme aimed at this bottom, majority sector of rural society and should be fully tested in these two areas, as a start.

It is hoped that ways may be found for both of these elements to be tested as the evaluation exercise clearly identified the existence of the need and gave indications of success of the programme initiated as part of the over-all approach to the problems of the rural poor.

(c) Development of the Receiving Mechanism

Perhaps the most critical factor in the success of such small groups is the homogeneity of its membership. The evaluation revealed that those groups formed earliest (prior to the Pre-project Training Workshop of November, 1975) and which contained some of the traditional leaders (bigger farmers and even school teachers), although they progressed more

quickly in the first year, they also had the greatest problem of group consensus seeking and domination of the group by the group leader. Since one of the important differences between the Small Farmer groups and other government sponsored groups is the concept of shared leadership and action through group decision-making (consensus) it is essential that people of like heart as well as economic status are encouraged to work together. For this reason it would appear important that the GO/ARF's complete their household surveys before starting to organize the groups.

Special training programmes for the group members in many different aspects have been recommended and planned as a result of the evaluation sessions. These need to be vigorously implemented as only through training will they be able to become self generating and thereby the GO/ARF's permit them to move on to assist in organising new groups. The better the members are able to conduct their own business the less close the credit supervision that will be required. The SPIC's at district level must give this high priority. FAO can assist through its new TCP. Training in the preparation of Group Production Plans and their monitoring would appear particularly important in the immediate future and FAO/RAFE stands ready to help.

One method of promoting group learning through group discussion, not discussed during the evaluation, but mentioned now is the use of radio listening/discussion groups. The method is being used extensively in Indonesia, India and recently started in Thailand. The ADB might consider the possibility of organising/sponsoring a weekly radio programme exclusively for its Small Farmer groups. FAO has had considerable experience in designing such programmes around the world. The Dept. of Agriculture Extension in Nepal has started in a small way but the organisation of listening groups are basic to this approach. Fortunately, the SFD groups can be both listening and active groups.

(d) Development of the Delivery Mechanism to Serve the SFPP Groups

As mentioned earlier, an active Central Coordination Committee would appear necessary, under Nepal's present administrative structure, to ensure that the various technical depts. and agencies of government orient their activities more to the needs of such groups, instead of individual progressive farmers. The services of veterinary and animal production staff and marketing specialists for both dairy and grain products is especially urgent.

At district level, in view of the needs expressed by the SFPP groups in the fields of both education, housing and health, it seems desirable to expand the SPIC to include representatives from education and health departments.

The basic principle of this approach is that the GO/ARF helps only in creating the group and in helping it reach out for the services and support of the various line agencies. Expansion of the groups can only

be done as the line agencies are able to continue to service the old ones on a regular basis.

(e) The Role of the /ARF

As also mentioned earlier, the GO/ARF must be seen to be a new type of community organiser. He must not become an extension worker (or a loan officer) for any one or more departments or agencies. His task is to organise groups, develop leadership and record what happens.

The most urgent problem yet to be solved is how to do this in a manner that can be duplicated on an ever expanding basis. The research side of the project is therefore of great importance. The GO/ARF's should be actively assisted in this work by qualified researchers from institutions or departments of national repute.

The basic concept behind the research work of the GO/ARF is that the type of data collected and insights generated by him at field level is rare and valuable and should be made available to all agencies interested in rural development. The GO/ARF should be assisted to write up and even publish his findings, preferably as part of a requirement of a university for an advance degree.

Thus this work can become part of a department's or agency's staff development programme. People with this type of in-depth experience should be gradually brought into policy making positions, but not until they have completed their full period of field action cum research. The evaluation exercise revealed that the SFPP groups were anxious that the GO/ARF's be permitted to remain in the project areas for the duration of the project as originally planned.

(f) Evaluation of the Evaluation

The exercise seemed to be exceedingly valuable. It should be organised next year in February or early March in order to give time to plan for the future of the project beyond its termination date of October 1978.

This time participants from national, district and field level of each major line department should attend throughout as a combined research and staff development exercise at policy, management and implementation levels. A period of 20 days should be devoted to the total exercise giving time for adequate preparation for the round-up session in Kathmandu.

The participation of Back to the Village personnel as done at Dhanusa should be encouraged plus the work experience programme for university students.

